

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT

WEATHERMAN

FILE NO.

100-439048

SECTION NO.

42

SERIALS

2517

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2536

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
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Tele. Room _____
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MR. D. J. BRENNAN, JR.

DATE: 1/10/69

FROM : P. D. PUTNAM

SUBJECT: BRUCE D. DANCIS

SECURITY MATTER - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

SECURITY MATTER - MOVEMENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

On 1/9/69, [redacted] Bureau of Customs, called and advised that Customs representatives at the Peace Bridge at Niagara Falls, New York, had searched the car of one [redacted] and had confiscated some pamphlets published by the Students for a Democratic Society and the Movement for a Democratic Society. These pamphlets were entitled, "TET Offensive" and called for a demonstration at George Washington University, Washington, D.C., on 1/18/69; a demonstration at the International Police Academy, Washington, D.C., on 1/19/69, and a demonstration at the South Vietnamese Embassy on 1/20/69.

[redacted] said there were additional pamphlets among the literature seized which were published by the Movement for a Democratic Society, which called for a march on Washington on 4/12, 13/69. [redacted] had no additional information concerning the latter pamphlets but added that the above information, in greater detail, has been furnished to our Buffalo Office as well as to Secret Service in Buffalo and here in Washington.

ACTION:

For information.

- PDP:hke
(6)
1-Mr. C. D. Brennan
1-Mr. R. D. Cotter
1-Liaison
1-Mr. Haynes
1-Mr. Putnam

REC-89

100-439048-2519

6 JAN 15 1969

57 JAN 27 1969

JAN 30 1969

Kbw.

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date 1/2/68
BU 100-430648

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☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial #

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Send to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Attached are two copies of "New Left Notes", Vol. 3, # 3, issue of 12/23/68. These copies do not have to be retained for evidentiary purposes.

Encl. 2
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ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
922D

SA [Signature] J. J. JOHNSON

See reverse side

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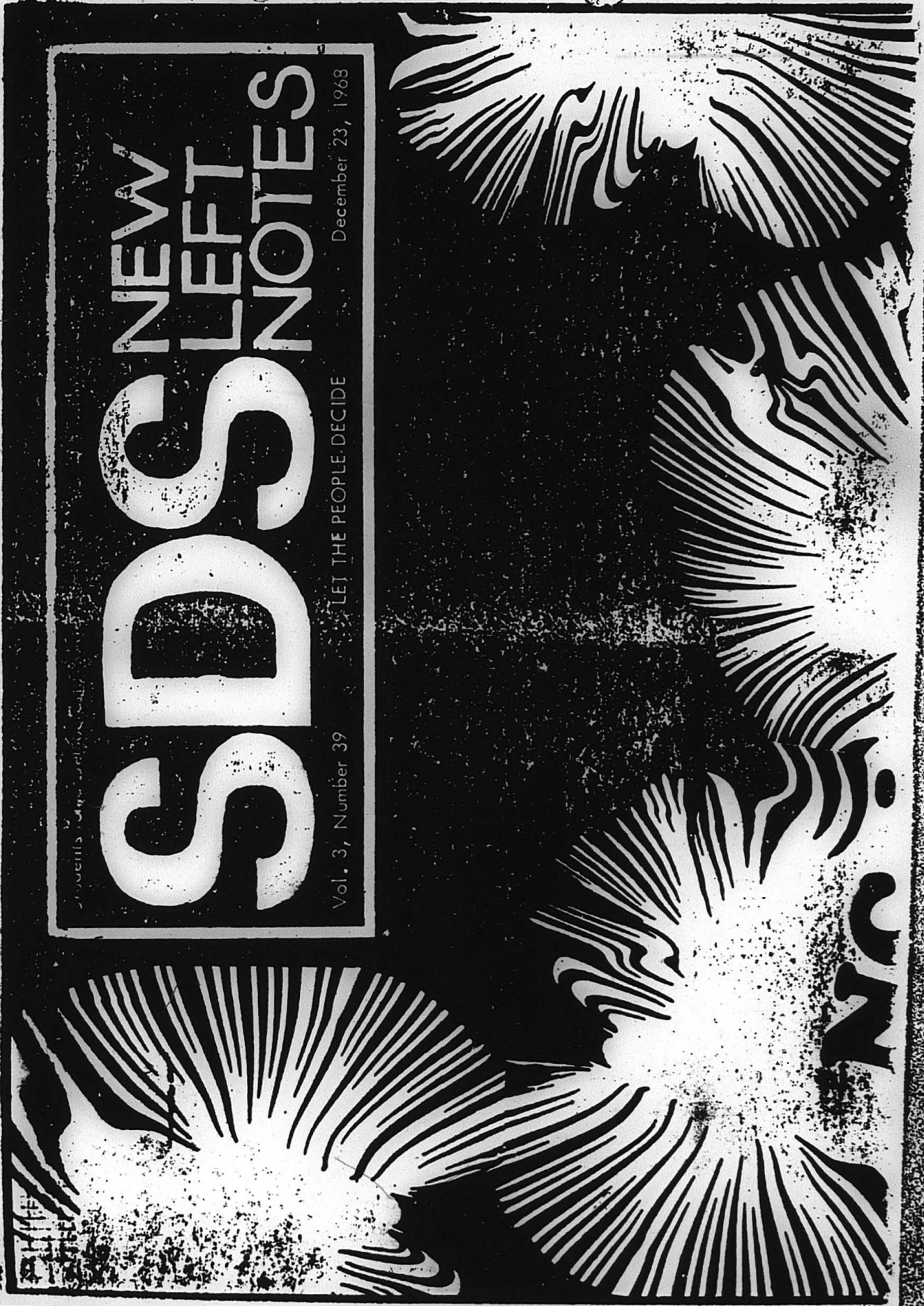
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SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

December 23, 1968

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Vol. 3, Number 39





by Mao
Tse-tung

Liberalism Comb

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly

the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

(continued on Page 4)

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612

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Revolutionary struggle for women's liberation

(NC resolution submitted by Noel Ignatiev)

Women form the oldest and largest continually oppressed group in the family of humankind; their subjugation dating from the dawn of primitive communal society and the rise of private property.

In spite of early Amazon wars, 10,000 years of uninterrupted struggle for equality over 100 years of a modern women's rights movement in this country, the 19th Amendment and various legal reforms, the fact remains that today, in the last third of the 20th century, in the United States of America, the most highly developed capitalist society on earth, women continue to form a despised and subjugated group, repressed both brutally and subtly, denied the minimal birthright of even the lowliest man. While it is true that women of the working class, and especially black and Spanish-speaking women, are the most oppressed of their sex, all strata of women suffer under male supremacy of one form or another.

Female Channeling

The school system plays a specific role in preparing both men and women to accept the subordinate position of women. From elementary school, with its "model of discipline" being the prim little girl who sits with hands folded, and its dancing lessons for girls and gym classes for boys; to the high school, with its socially useless home economics courses and training-for-auxiliary-role institutions of "higher education" which for women generally means beauty schools, secretarial schools, or else in elementary education, or else preparation for the role of the "cultured" wife of a bourgeoisie man.

reveal clearly how the institutions are set up to oppress women.

The inability of the "most advanced, technologically developed" etc. capitalist society to provide equality for half its citizens not only exposes the thorough hypocrisy of all that society's words about "justice" and "equality". It also shows that the struggle for the equality of women is a revolutionary task, that is, one which cannot be completed under the present system of private property and exploitation of the majority of people by a social class which is defined by its ownership of the means of producing wealth. This characterization of woman's liberation as a revolutionary task leads us to two inescapable conclusions:

(1) Women who desire equality must become revolutionaries.

(2) All revolutionary organizations and all individuals, both male and female, who desire revolution must fight for the equality of women.

Proposal

Therefore, I propose that SDS take up the fight for women's rights on campus, by raising several specific demands which will expose the way women are specially oppressed within the university set-up and rally students to fight against that oppression.

1. Launch fights around curriculum and organize in classrooms to expose how the schools reinforces the male supremacist definition of "woman's role." Challenge the counseling practice of steering women into auxiliary occupations. Demand the teaching of the history of women's struggles for liberation. This should be carried out in the context of on-going programs which challenge campus sexism.

beauty schools, secretarial, nursing and other job training schools for women.

(3) We should launch a campaign to bring the wages of women student employees of the university up to the level of men. This must definitely not be subordinated in a general struggle to raise wages of all student employees, nor should it be postponed on the ground that it would divert attention from the just demands of all employees, male and female. The central question is oppression—the general oppression of all student employees and the special harsh oppression of women student employees. In some cases, tackling the especially low level of women's wages may prove to be the key to solidifying all the employees and winning improvements for all. In general, it would be better to raise the two questions side by side, with equal emphasis; but in no case should SDS challenge the low wages and bad conditions generally without especially challenging the especially low wages and bad conditions for women.

Guidelines

The above three points are by no means exhaustive; if other demands which relate to the fight for women's equality come up, they should by all means be incorporated into the program. I would like to suggest several guidelines for the campaign.

(1) I hesitate to suggest specific forms of organization, since conditions vary, but I believe that whatever forms within SDS are decided upon to organize the campaign, they should be such that the chapter as a whole has charge and responsibility, with women taking the main responsibility to organize women, and men taking the main responsibility



research, internal education and

the usually as consisting of the French language, "music", or the playing of songs, or the piano, and "home economy", or the knitting of small surprises for her husband—all these stages of the "education" process

educational institutions where working class women are trained and socialized. Within the context of work in the high schools, state schools, teachers colleges, junior colleges, and trade schools, emphasis should be placed on

should be on rallying women to fight for their liberation and, in the process, help women in SDS to play more of a leadership role.

the present system and why all concerns should fight for women's equality.

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

COMMUNISTS?

Jim Pridemore's article, "Anti-Communism in the Movement" in the December 11 New Left Notes is just another version of the old argument, "If you're not with me, you're against me." Unfortunately, PL has placed itself in the situation in which it supposedly sees itself and no one else. When an organization spends all its time spreading (false) tales about other left-wing socialist tendencies, as, for example, I understand it has done

condemning in NY Peace and Freedom, and as it has done constantly about the tendencies having any affinity at all for Trotskyism, any when such an organization as a result of its obsession with destroying the "tyranny" of other radicals itself becomes a victim of the same kind of mindless attacks—then it is difficult to have any sympathy whatever for that organization.

Nonetheless, this letter was not meant to be exclusively a diatribe of either PL, (obviously or, on the other hand, of the types around the national office who would call themselves "Revolutionary

with the way things are. Or when they do, they see it not in terms of a political critique of the organization, but in terms of "personality" hang-ups or something similar.

New Left Notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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Criticism: Don't Purify

So what happens as a result of that lack of discussion? People have to "purify" their purity. They've got to engage in self-deprecatory riles of "self-criticism" since that sort of hogwash has become a substitute for reason. When we attempt to introduce into the SDS some discussion—be it a discussion of the roots of our politics or what communism really does, and whether a simplistic analysis of Russia/China as the "socialist" is adequate here, or of the SDS as internal democracy in SDS—or a merely branded as an "anti-Communist" by a form of McCarthyism.

Both the national office as well as many local SDS members of SDS are themselves.

Too Late?

Whether it is too late now to do anything about this I cannot say. The implication of guilt that PL tries to throw into almost every single one of its pseudo-political articles or pamphlets is only matched by the covert elitism and the anti-democratic procedures of the clique that runs SDS with a sort of "gentleman's agreement." No conspiracy is involved; just a sort of common view of politics on both sides, and, equally on both sides, an unwillingness to subject either view to any sort of radical criticism. The tactics utilized by both sides to prevent such discussion are different: CPL utilizes a kind of bludgeoning of criticism with its "anti-Communist" charges, while some cases SDS people are more discreet; they either use the "consensus," in which everyone is seen as a nice unanimous grouping, despite the psychological intimidation of dissenters that goes along with such an outlook; or, on the other hand, as with publications like the Movement, they simply refuse to publish articles which have criticisms of revolutionaries with which they disagree. But both demand uncritical adulation, NOT critical thinking within the framework of Marxism.

They pay the label of "communist" which both have sought to ascribe to their politics is little more than a

(continued on Page 6)

Toward a revolutionary youth movement

How should we judge whether a youth is revolutionary?...if today he integrates himself with the masses....; then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns around to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.

— Mao
(NC Resolution submitted by Mike Klonsky)

At this point in history, SDS is faced with its most crucial ideological decision, that of determining its direction with regards to the working class. At this time there must be a realization on the part of many in our movement that students alone cannot and will not be able to bring about the downfall of capitalism, the system which is at the root of man's oppression. Many of us are going to have to go through important changes, personally. As students, we have been indoctrinated with many racist and anti-working class notions that in turn have produced racism and class-chauvinism in SDS and was responsible largely for the student-power focus which our movement has had for many years. We are moving beyond this now, but that movement must be planned carefully and understood by all.

The fact that we see ourselves as students as well as radicals, and accepted that classification of ourselves and many of the false privileges that went along with it (2-S deferment, promise of the "good life" upon graduation, etc.) was primarily responsible for the reactionary tendencies in SDS.

Main Task
The main task now, is to begin moving beyond the limitations of struggle

The ruling class recognizes the critical potential of young people. This is why they developed so many organizational forms to contain them. Because young people have rejected the integration process that the schools are supposed to serve, and have broken with the "establishment" to struggle in terms of self-interest or have been forced out by industry that no longer has any room for the untrained, unskilled and unorganized young worker, the power structure must use its military, its courts and police to physically and materially repress youth. The price of this repression will be high. The response from various strata of youth has been rebellion, from the buildings at Columbia to the movement in the streets of Chicago to the Watts ghetto uprising.

Revolutionary Youth

We must also understand what role a youth movement would have in the context of building a revolution. An organized class-conscious youth movement would serve basically three functions in building revolutionary struggle:

- 1) It would build a link through working-class youth to the working class to bring the dynamic of the student movement to workers. The student movement must be a catalyst to ignite the struggle of the working class with its militancy. It must also bring the issues to working people necessary to raise the consciousness of the workers, like racism and the war in Vietnam. Developing a base among working-class youth is an organic way for the student movement to ally with the struggle of workers. Young workers are our link to the class struggle.
- 2) By developing roots within the

The implementation part of this proposal should not be seen as a national program of action but rather as some suggested actions as well as some necessary actions to be taken if such a youth movement is to be built.

1) BUILD CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

a. SDS organizers should direct the focus of their energies to organizing on campuses of working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools and technical schools as well as high schools and junior colleges.

b. SDS should move towards the building of alliances with non-academic employees on the campus based on struggle against a common enemy.

c. We should move into the liberation struggle now being fought inside the armed forces and take an active part. Up until now we have only paid lip-service to that struggle of mostly working class youth.

d. Attacks on the 2-S draft deferment should be organized and students should be discouraged from taking a 2-S.

e. Some of us should move into factories and shops as well as working-class communities to better understand the material oppression of industrial workers as well as bringing to them the dynamic of the youth movement.

f. Attacks on the war in Vietnam and university complicity should be continued and intensified. The Vietnamese are carrying on a vanguard struggle against the American ruling class and we must not fail to support that struggle.

2. Attacks should also focus on the university as an arm of corporations that oppress workers. Corporations that exploit workers should be fought on the campus. (Aside from producing napalm, Dow Chemical Co. has plants in 27 countries of the third-world and is among the leaders of the imperialists.) SDS should support the struggle for working-class control of the schools.

2) ATTACK INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

We must view the university as a racist and imperialist institution which acts as the brain center of repression against liberation struggles. Programs should be developed which aggressively attack it as such and attempt to stop it from functioning in this manner. Targets should include:

a. Police institutes on the campus
b. The real estate establishment (The University of Chicago is among the largest slumlords in the city.)

c. Centers for counter-insurgency (domestic and foreign) including research and planning centers and sociology and education departments which teach people racism so that they can help defeat the struggles of blacks.

d. Racism in the class room especially in high schools where students are forced by law to sit and listen to racist distortions of history.

e. A fight should be waged for the admission of black and brown students to help wage the struggle against racism on the campus. Blacks are carrying on the most militant of fights both on and off the campus and more black admissions means a more militant student movement. We must also expose the racist and class nature of admissions systems and the high school track system.

"constituencies both on and off campus, and build an SDS into a youth movement that is revolutionary."

The notion that we must remain simply "an anti-imperialist student organization" is no longer viable. The nature of our struggle is such that it necessitates an organization that is made up of youth and not just students and that these youth become class conscious. This means that our struggles must be integrated into the struggles of working people.

One thing should be clear. This perspective doesn't see youth as a class or say that youth will make the revolution by itself. Neither does it say that youth are necessarily more oppressed than older people, simply that they are oppressed in different ways. There are contradictions that touch youth specifically. To understand why there is a need for a youth movement, first we must come to see how youth are oppressed.

Youth Oppressed

Youth around the world have the potential to become a critical force. A youth movement raises the issues about a society in which it will be forced to live. It takes issues to the working class. They do this because, in America, there exists an enormous contradiction around the integration of youth into the system. The period of pre-employment has been greatly extended due to the affluence of this highly industrialized society and the lack of jobs.

Institutions like the schools, the military, the courts and the police all act to oppress youth in specific ways, as does the work place. The propaganda and socialization processes focused at youth act to channel young people into desired areas of the labor market as well as to socialize them to accept without rebellion, the miserable quality of life in America both on and off the job.

black liberation struggle. While recognizing that "black supremacy" is not a solution to the problem of racism, we must be careful not to

add militancy to and raise the consciousness of the working class at the same time merge with the struggles of that class to guarantee that the youth movement will have the correct class perspective.

"3) An organized revolutionary youth movement is itself a powerful force for revolutionary struggle. In other words, our struggle is the class struggle as is the Vietnamese and the black liberation struggle. To call youth or even the student movement a section of the bourgeoisie which must simply support any struggle fought by some working people, is economism. The struggle of youth is as much a part of the class struggle as a union strike. We ally with workers by waging struggle against a common enemy, not by subjugating our movement, patronizingly to every trade union battle. We also ally with the liberation struggles of those fighting imperialism, recognizing that this is the true expression of the working class at its most conscious level.

RACISM

Building a class-conscious youth movement means fighting racism. SDS must see this fight as a primary task. Racism is a central contradiction in American society, since racism is an inherent part of capitalism and a primary tool used to exploit all working people. In order to fight racism, we must recognize that there is a struggle being fought right now for black liberation in America with which we must ally. The fight for black liberation is at once an anti-colonial struggle against racism and the racist imperialist power structure as well as being part of the class struggle because black workers are among the most oppressed. It is through racism and its development into colonial oppression that black people are maintained as the most oppressed sector of the working class. Racism (white supremacy) ties white people to the state by splitting them from the most aggressive class struggle.

We urge every public-spirited reader of New Left Notes to call their state and local police as well as the FBI if they see Eldridge Cleaver, even if they only THINK they see him, even if they IMAGINE they see him.



Black & White

SDS Position

102. Call that the nothing posted on

Mass Meetings

To the Working Class

— — — — —

True Interests

Fight not Flight

and fight against them. Students must

The Columbia rebellion showed danger of liberation schools. Teachers, bullying in the effete counter-institution, gave up a war fight against racism and set up in classes on Lewis and in hot Maryland, while these classes meeting, Columbia continued the black people from their Harlem, and continued to work with

What should be done? Instead of setting up libertarian schools, efforts should be organized among parents involved in the strike towards advancing each other's understanding of the struggle and not deserting it. Libertarian school poses an alternative to the present system. Yet, it is Trustees we must confront, and not they who define the role of education. We must not allow ourselves to be universalized, systematically exclude world people and institutionalize racism in our education. The strike's

We felt that the attitude pushed on most white students by the system is one of "me first" and "my education first and foremost" and it does its best to conjure up racial fears that allowing non-white, "non-qualified" people to college would destroy the quality of the institution. Since then white and other attitudes which keep white and black students from struggling against racism had to be vigorously attacked. On the one hand (as stated in the first point) the role of white students in relation to the black and Third World Peoples struggle for self-determination through this strike should be one of support. On the other hand white students must take the offensive in fighting racism—

institutions in this country—is to serve the ruling class. The black and Third World students at SF State are attempting to make the University serve the interest of the community. While students must follow their example and build an alliance with the white working class community. The BSU and Third World Liberation Front are a vanguard force that is leading this struggle. The role of white students in this strike is to join with the vanguard in making the trustees yield on these demands. This struggle is the beginning of the fight to make the colleges and universities serve the masses of the people and not just the ruling class. Another hotly contested battle raged

see that their interests lie in making the college serve the interests of all working people in the community and that the only way to stop the college from serving the interests of big business and make it serve the interests of the working community is for students to ally themselves with working people and fight our common enemy.

Another idea championed by the Program leaders at the early meetings was the concept of liberation schools or parallel institutions. As it was proposed, it denies the basic premise of the Third World Student Strike. In fact, it is a slap in the face of Third

world people and institutionalize racism in our education. The strike's course shows that the alternative to the present system is not to ignore it but to fight for change.

After a few days, when it became clear that the great majority of students attending the mass meetings rejected both the analysis and the tactics forward by the Program people, latter stopped attending the meetings and called meetings of their own. Those people whose names were in the hands of the program people soon received calls explaining the new group was forming comprised of people who were in support of 15 demands but could not

Mao: combat liberalism

(continued from Page 1)

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally, to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To get into an argument and struggle against incorrect views not for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly, but in order to make personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead remain indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the

direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along—"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type.

We could name more. But these eleven are the principle types.

They are all manifestations of liberalism.

Dangers of Liberalism

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency.

Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second, and this gives rise to ideological, political and organizational liberalism.

their Marxism, but they have their liberalism as well—they talk Marxism but practice liberalism when they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.

Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and objectively has the effect of helping the enemy that is why the enemy welcomes its preservation in our midst. Such being its nature, there should be no place for it in the ranks of the revolution.

Mao's Communism

We must use Marxism, which is positive in spirit to overcome liberalism, which is negative. A Communist should have bigness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about his private person, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.



FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TRACKS

A student movement has its own built-in limitations, both in terms of how much it can do and how much it can understand. In some ways, a student movement tends to be artificial, because the student lives in an artificial environment—the university. Thus, it is natural that a student movement generally concerns itself with issues that the majority of society has hardly any time at all to be concerned about. This is good to a point. Without the student demonstrations against the war, there would've been no antiwar movement. Without student consciousness of racism, blacks would be even more isolated and vulnerable to attack.

A student movement evolves to an inevitable point where it realizes that wars and racism are the manifestations of an inhuman system and if wars and racism are going to be stopped, the system itself must be stopped and another created. And it is at this point that a student movement reaches the boundaries of its inherent limitations. When this juncture is reached, the student movement finds its members becoming increasingly frustrated and the movement seeks to relieve that frustration through activism and/or by turning its attention to changing the students' immediate environment, the university.

A student movement which concerns itself with bringing about change within the university is engaging in an act which can have all the appearances of being imprudent, while being, in essence, quite unimportant. Regardless of how unending one's stay in a university may seem, the fact yet remains that after four years of serving time, the student leaves. The university is a temporary society for most who live within its confines and as such, any radical activity aimed at it is of limited value.

Because the university is a temporary society, any movement coming from it is in danger of being temporary. The next student generation may have

more traditional interests than the one which kept the campus in an uproar during the preceding four years. And while student movements are characterized by a great willingness to confront the reigning social authority, there is nothing inherent in a student movement that will insure its evolution into a radical movement once the students leave the university.

Perhaps the greatest liability of a student movement is that it is only able to speak to other students. While this is of limited value, the fact still remains that there is perhaps no group more powerless than students. Not only are students without power, the instruments of power are not even a part of their world. If all students went on strike, it wouldn't cause the society to pause in its step. The most that a student movement can do is to disrupt. The power to disrupt, however, cannot be equated with the power to make a revolution. A student movement is only a revolutionary force when it can act as an adjunct with other forces in the society. It is needless to say that such a situation does not presently exist.

When student radicals leave the campus, they can avoid coming into direct contact with other forces in the society by creating their own little worlds where they continue to live with each other, talk only to each other and remain unconcerned about the concrete problems which most people have to face. The student radical is never heard talking about a rise in the price of milk, new taxes, real wages or doctor bills. The student radical creates his own society in which money is not an overriding problem and because it isn't, the student radical thinks that revolution is all about love, because he has time to think about love. Everybody else is thinking about survival.

No matter how radical a student may be, his

radicalism remains virgin until he has had to face the basic problems which everyone in the society has to face—paying the rent every month. It is easy to be radical when someone else is underwriting it. It is a lot easier to belittle the Wallace-supporting factory worker when one does not know the constant economic insecurity and fear under which that factory worker lives.

While the goal of revolution is the creation of the new man, people turn to revolution when that becomes the only means of satisfying their material needs. They do not become revolutionaries because of any ideas about the new man.

The student radical has to become an everyday radical before he can be totally trusted. He must know the concrete problems which face the everyday person. And while such issues as the war in Vietnam, the repression of Mexican students and the invasion of Czechoslovakia are important, revolution is made from the three eternal issues—food, clothing and shelter. The American system requires of its people that they exchange their lives and humanity for food, clothing and shelter. Our job is to show people the way they are being robbed of their birthright for a mess of pottage and that that is not necessary.

As long as the movement is dominated by students, the movement will carry within it the seeds of its own death. As long as the student, upon graduation, carries his radicalism to an apartment three blocks away from the campus or to the nation's East Villages where a thousand others just like him reside, his radicalism will remain theoretically correct and pragmatically irrelevant, except as a gadfly forcing the system to make minimal reforms.

Julius Lester

(reprinted from the Guardian)

(continued from Page 5)

remain silent. We work hard. We don't ask for help. We don't go on welfare. We're happy people and Chinatown is a happy town." Chinese people are suffering. We've been suffering ever since we came to this country. Because of our image we've paid a heavy price. We have poverty and ignorance.

The Chinese people who have made it are forced to exploit their own people. Don't let the restaurants and the glittering lights fool you, because I can take you down a half a block away and you'll see Chinese restaurants, a community bath-room--oh bathroom for 90 apartments that are four by eight--old people that are hiding and afraid to come out. We can't communicate with these people because we've been educated by the white man's education. White washed. We've been taught to be ashamed of being Chinese.

We have a culture and no chance to learn about it. They make a mockery of our New Year's Celebration--it's not supposed to be a parade. The reason why people love us is because we keep our mouth shut so they don't have to deal with us. Well, we're telling people: we don't want to be loved, we just want to get what's coming to us.

Here at S.F. State they teach Mandarin. It's groovy, but we can't communicate because all of our people speak Cantonese. How can they ask us to learn a language (Mandarin), when the U.S. government doesn't recognize that those 800 million people exist. Sure, we can learn Mandarin, but how can I communicate with the old lady in Chinatown who has TB and speaks Cantonese. We need that language to help our people. Personally, I can't even speak to my own father. We suffer a big generation gap because we're taught to be ashamed of our language.

A Week Of Hayakawa

Q: How do you see the events of this past week?

ROGER: The whole development of the strike has been essentially to respond to the actions of the administration. Since we started the strike we have taken the position that we will not only strike, but we will escalate the activities of the strike until our demands are met.

bring in the national guard rather than recognize the validity of these demands and begin the process of implementing them.

Q: Hayakawa has said that he is meeting your demands. How do his "concessions" stack up with your demands?

ROGER: The President only addressed himself to six of the fifteen demands. We have 15 demands, not 6. We're striking about all 15.

ROGER: The fact that Hayakawa chose to relate only to black people's demands we see as being an attempt to divide the coalition that has evolved among all non-white people. It's the same kind of process that Smith was involved in. Rather than recognize the reality on which the coalition is based--which is needs--he has continued to react to third world people as isolated bodies, isolated peoples. But all over the country and all over the world we are treated the same.

What Hayakawa has done with the demands will only serve to heighten the contradictions. He has educated the people and shown that the Man didn't address himself to the demands. He didn't address himself to the basis of the demands. He can't deal with people's needs.

Tactics

It's our understanding as a so-called minority that we are not in a position of controlling anything. The whole development of the strike, the whole fact that the strike has gone on this long is because we have not put ourselves into the position of trying to tell the Man that we controlled anything. We did not walk into a building and take it over and blatantly tell the Man that we controlled it--now he could come try to kick our ass and let him come and do that. We understand very clearly that we do not control a god-damned thing that goes on.

But what we can do...we can manipulate ourselves to such an extent that at the very least we will neutralize the Man. The Man has, for a month and five days, brought on his pigs; has attempted every chance he's gotten to destroy what's going on. The reasons he hasn't been able to do it is because we haven't let him get away with it. Because we haven't put ourselves in a position where we know for a fact (just in terms of numbers, just in terms of physical strength) we would lose.

NEESBIT: To get a decent education white people can't wait for it to come to them. Go out there and grab it. Get up off your ass and fight for it.

ROGER: White people should actively take up their own struggle and begin to move. But all this is hypothetical. FSM could have been a beginning. They let that victory fall, instead of using it as a battering ram to go after other things. If they had related back to their own community about what the struggle was and gotten the people to understand that, and then begun articulating and specifying needs of white people, they could have gone beyond free speech.

Q: In the case of S.F. State, weren't white people hesitant to put forth their own demands because they didn't want to manipulate your strike?

ROGER: If you're ready to stand up and take what belongs to you 'cause you have decided that's what you want, then that's what priority is. Whether or not you use the impetus of a third world movement as the basis of your struggle is not the question. What we are talking about is people's needs. If people's needs is the priority, then that's what you relate to. If you recognize you have certain needs, then the question is: how you going to move on them? Is it just enough to move into a strike that is already going on, or are you going to continue the struggle after the strike of the third world people is over?

NEESBIT: What sickens me is that white people tend to academize what they'd like to do. Earlier this evening, a white man asked me, "Why do you people come on so strong?" What he was really asking was: "Why don't I, as a white person, feel so strongly as you about what affects my life? I can't project that feeling of despair, desperation and complete rejection of what's going on. Why? I think because people are so completely immersed in the security syndrome--this attitude that we must be selfish."

ROGER: White people have accepted the role they've been given in society. In the 1930s it took two longshoremen to get killed before the union could be where it is. If you look at the Union now, it's a cop out to the people who were then throwing themselves down on the line. However much the ILWU has given the longshoremen, at the same time representatives from the ILWU approached us for 3 hours this week about going to talk to a mad dog like Althea because it was something politically sophisticated to do. The only way that can

If you're going to recognize yourself as a human being, then you're going to set up priorities on the basis of anybody else's. You must relate to other people's priorities on the basis of your own priorities--on the basis of what you need so you don't starve physically or mentally, so you are not abused, or allow that to be done to other people.

WOMEN

(continued from Page 2)

and attempts should be made to break two struggles.

(5) The campaign should be the backdrop and the mirror--again which to examine SDS and correct tendencies within it to keep women in a subordinate position.

(6) We should relate the struggle to women's rights in the schools to the struggle of women generally, especially working class women, to the institutions that repress them, example juvenile court, girl's home, women's detention centers, prisons, family court, welfare, labor battles such as Levi Strauss, and others.

Finally, I think there are two main false ideas against which SDS must battle in the course of the struggle. The first is the belief that the equality of women is solely business of women, and that only women have the right and responsibility to oppose male domination. As far as men are concerned, in my opinion the slogan should be, "As I would be a slave, so I would not be a master."

The second false idea which should be combated is the belief that, since "woman question" can only be solved by radical, fundamental social change, therefore the struggle for women's rights should take second place to other struggles "of wider appeal." If we are to win large numbers of women to

Huey Newton in defense of self-defense

by on anarchoists and individualists as related to revolutionary struggle and black liberation movement—reprinted from The Black Panther, November 16)

to should understand there is a
between the rebellion of the
and the black revolution or
of the black colony.

is a class society; it always
This reactionary class society
its limitations on individuals,
in terms of their occupation,
regarding self-expression,
middle, and being free to really
and do anything they want.

class society prevents this.
is true not only for the mass
or subjugated class. It is
within the ruling class, the
class. That class also limits
of the individual souls
which comprise it.
the upper class, the individuals
try to free themselves from
limitations—the artificial
placed upon him through
namely, some
that goes by the name of
Administration.

Upper Class Anarchists

In America, we have not only a class
society, we also have a caste system,
and black people are fitted into the
lower caste. They have no mobility
in going up the caste ladder. They
have no privilege to move into the
upper structure at all.

Within the ruling class they're

a middle class background and some
even upper class. They see the
limitations imposed upon them and now
they're striving, as all men strive,
to get freedom of the soul, freedom of
expression, and freedom of movement,
without the artificial limitations from
antique values.

Need for Discipline

Blacks and colored people in America,
confined within the caste system, are
discriminated against as a whole group
of people. It's not a question of
individual freedom, as it is for the
children of the upper classes.
We haven't reached the point of trying
to free ourselves individually because
we're dominated and oppressed as a
group of people.

A great part of the people of this
country are youth. But they're not
doing this as a group of people. Be-
cause as a group they're already free
to an extent. Their problem is not
a group problem really, because they
can easily integrate into the structure.
Potentially they're mobile enough to
do this: They're the educated ones,
the "future of the country," and so
forth. They can easily gain a certain
amount of power over the society
by integrating into the rulership circle.

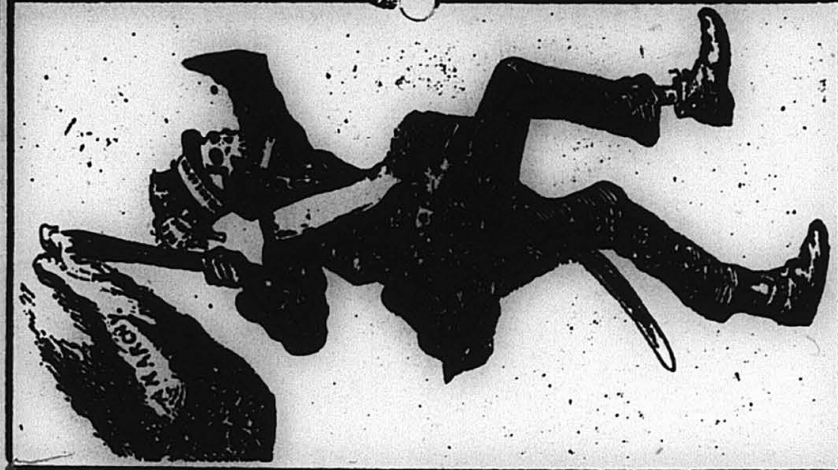
But they see that even within the

They're being ruled by an alien source
that has nothing to do with freedom of
individual expression. They want to
escape this, to overturn this, but they
see no need to form a structure or a
real, disciplined vanguard movement.
Their reasoning is that by setting up
a disciplined organization they feel
they'd be replacing the old structure
with other limitations. They fear they'd
be setting themselves up as directing
the people, therefore limiting the
individual again.

But what they don't understand, or
it seems that they don't understand,
is as long as the military-industrial
complex exists, then the structure of
oppression of the individual continues.
An individual would be threatened even
if he were to achieve his freedom he's
seeking. He'll be threatened because
there'll be an organized lower group
there ready to strip him of his
individual freedom at any moment.

Cuba's Vanguard

In Cuba they had a revolution, they
had a vanguard group that was
a disciplined group, and they realized
that the state won't disappear until
imperialism is completely wiped out,
structurally and also philosophically,
or the bourgeois thoughts won't be
changed. Once imperialism is wiped out
they can have the communist state and
the state or territorial boundaries will



anarchists right away.

As far as the blacks are concerned,
we are not hung up on attempting to
actualize or express our individual
souls because we're oppressed not as
individuals but as a whole group of
people. Our evolution, or our liberation,
is based first on freeing our group.
Freeing our group to a certain degree.
After we gain our liberation, our people
will not be free. I can imagine in the
future that the blacks themselves have
structured. They will see there will be
limitations, limiting their individual
selves, and limiting their freedom of
expression. But this is only after they
become free as a group.

We Stress Organization

This is what makes our group

completely subjected to the will of the administration and the masters. This brings about a very strange phenomenon in America. That is, many of the rebelling white students and anarchists are the offspring of this master class. Surely most of them have values that have no respect for individualism. They find themselves subjugated. No matter what class they're in they find themselves subjugated because of the nature of this class society. So their fight is to free the individual's soul. This brings about another problem.



to feel that if they just express themselves individually and tend to ignore the limitations imposed on them, without leadership and without discipline they can oppose the very disciplined, organized, reactionary state. This is not true. They will be oppressed as long as imperialism exists. You cannot oppose a system such as this is without organization that's even more disciplined and dedicated than the structure you're opposing.

Recent French Revolution

I can understand the anarchists wanting to go directly from state to non-state, but historically it's incorrect. As far as I'm concerned thinking of the recent French Revolution, the reason the French uprising failed is simply because the anarchists in the country, who by definition had no organization, had no people that were reliable enough as far as the mass of the people were concerned to replace DeGaulle and his government. Now, the people were skeptical about the Communist Party and the other progressive parties, because they didn't side with the people of medium living. They lagged behind the people, so they lost the respect of the people, and the people looked for guidance from the students and anarchists.

Free as a Group

But the anarchists were unable to offer a structural program to replace the DeGaulle government. So the people were forced to turn back to DeGaulle. It wasn't the people's fault; it was Cohn-Bendit's fault and all the other anarchists who felt they could just go from state to non-state.

In this country—getting back to North America now—we can side with the student radicals. We would try to encourage them and persuade them to organize and wield a sharp cutting tool.

In order to do this they would have to be disciplined and they would have at least some philosophical replacement of the system. This is not to say that this itself will free the individual. The

besides he views his group as already free. Now he's striving for freedom of his individual self. This is the big difference. We're not fighting for freedom of our individual selves, we're fighting for a group freedom. In the future there will probably be a rebellion where blacks will say, "Well, our leadership is limiting our freedom, we will strive for our individualistic freedom that has nothing to do with organized group or state." And the group will be disorganized, and it should be.

But at this point we stress discipline, we stress organization, we do not stress psychedelic drugs, and all the other things that have to do with just the individual expansion of the mind. We're trying to gain true liberation of a group of people, and this makes our struggle somewhat different from the whites.

Our Fight's the Same

Now, how is it the same. It's the same in the fact that both of us are striving for freedom. They will not be free—the white anarchists will not be free—until we are free so that makes our fight their fight really. The imperialists and the bourgeois bureaucratic capitalist system would not give them individual freedom while they keep a whole group of people based upon race color oppressed as a group. How can they expect to get individual freedom when the imperialists oppress whole nations of people? Until we gain liberation as a group they won't gain any liberation as an individual person. So this makes our fight the same, and we must keep this in perspective, and always see the similarities and the differences in it.

There's a tremendous amount of difference in it, and there's a due amount of similarities between the two cases. Both are striving for freedom and both are striving for liberation of their people, only one is advanced to a degree higher than the other. The anarchists are advanced a step higher, but only in theory. As far as actuality of conditions, they shouldn't be advanced

On revolution and university reform



(Editor's note: Che gave this speech as part of a symposium at the University of Santiago in Cuba on October 17, 1959. Excerpts of the speech have been translated from the July 1968 issue of OCLAE Magazine by Arlene Elsen Bergman.)

It is interesting for me to come to speak about a problem that has been so important to students everywhere—to speak here, in a revolutionary university, in one of the most revolutionary cities of Cuba.

The topic is broad, so broad that various speakers have been able to develop different themes. As a fighter, I'm interested in analyzing precisely the revolutionary duties of students in relation to the University.

The Class Position of Students in Cuba

To do this, we must analyze carefully who the student is, to which class he belongs, and if there is something that defines students as such, or if students' actions simply correspond to the general actions of the different classes to which they can belong.

We find that the student is the reflection of the University where he is found. While there are different types of conditions students face, ultimately there are economic conditions which insure that the student belongs to a social class that is relatively

autonomy....

This is a false attitude because, in fact, the university is disengaging itself completely from the life of the country. Because it is cloistering itself and converting itself into a kind of ivory tower, far from the practical accomplishments of the revolution. It is a false attitude because it would mean continuing to send our Republic an enormous number of lawyers who are not needed. Look at the number of doctors coming out, or at the whole variety of professionals, whose programs could at least be examined to be made more useful.

Two possible roads arise at this point. There is a rise of important groups, in student sectors, who consider the worst thing in the world to be state intervention or the loss of autonomy.

Now these student sectors are, perhaps, fulfilling their class obligations, but they are forgetting their revolutionary obligations. They are forgetting the obligations they have incurred in the struggle to the great mass of workers and peasants who put their bodies, their sweat and their blood at the side of the students, in order to arrive at the great solution that was the first of January.

Dangers

This attitude towards autonomy has been very

the dictatorial regimes and later during the government of Arevalo.

But, during the Arbenz government, they became centers of struggle against the democratic regime. They were defending exactly what is being defended now, university autonomy, the sacred right of a group of people to decide fundamental affairs of a country although these decisions are against the very interests of the nation.

In this blind and sterile struggle, the university was transforming itself from the vanguard of the popular forces into the arm of Guatemalan reaction. The invasion of Castillo Armas, the public burning, in an act of medieval vandalism, of all books that spoke of themes considered evil by the little Guatemalan satrap, was necessary before the university could return to its senses and take its place in the struggle along with the popular forces.

The mistake was an extraordinarily large and Guatemala is today, as you know, still coming out of that chaotic situation, searching again among difficulties and errors to find an institutional life with democratic rules. This is a vivid example

There are extraordinary individuals, very capable, who can struggle against adversity with amazing tenacity, and succeed in acquiring a university degree. But, in general, university students belong to the middle class and reflect the desires and interests of this class. Although, often, exactly in times such as now, the stirring call of the revolution can carry them to more extreme positions.

Role of the University

We are trying to analyze the general tendencies within the University which respond to its social base, and its revolutionary duties in relation to the whole country. This is important because the university is greatly responsible for the success or failure of the technical part of the great social and economic experiments that is being carried on in Cuba.

We have instituted laws that profoundly transform the ruling social system. The institutions have been liquidated, almost in a flash. The tax system has been changed. Prices and duties have been changed. Industrial cooperatives have been created. So, a whole series of new phenomena and the corresponding new institutions are flourishing in Cuba.

We have started this immense work with good intentions alone—with the belief that we are following a true and just road, but without considering the technical elements to do things perfectly.

We don't rely on these elements because we are learning, and the university has been geared to supply the old society with a variety of professionals who administered in the context of the necessities of the past. There was a need for many lawyers and doctors. There were former civil engineers and the like. But now we suddenly find ourselves with the need for agricultural teachers, agronomy engineers, industrial chemists, physicists, even mathematics classes—and there aren't any.

The State

In many cases, the courses don't even exist. In other words, the courses are taken by a small number of students that have seen the need to study new things. Some students take those courses because other facilities are full or because they wanted to study and there was nothing they really liked. In sum, there was no state direction to fill all the gaps that we are finding in the technicalization of our Revolution.

If the State is the only entity capable of expressing an opinion with authority about the necessities of the country, obviously, the State must participate in governing the University. There are violent

those who remain on the margin, or even support the government in some form, but who feel they have not economically.

If the State is the only entity capable of expressing an opinion with some certainty about the necessities of the country, obviously, the State must participate in governing the University. There are violent complaints about this. The students call it a loss of autonomy. . . .

All these people are dispersed in different social positions. They can demonstrate their discontent with all the liberty they want. But national and international reactionaries intend to cement all the forces of discontent against the government and make them a solid mass in order to have this front for invasion or economic depression or who knows what else.

The university, when it's facing difficulties, fighting furiously around the word autonomy, as well as fighting around questions of lesser importance like the election of student leaders, is creating the very field in which the seed of the big reactionaries can be planted effectively. And this place, this place that has been the vanguard of the people in struggle, can convert itself into a backward element, if it doesn't incorporate itself into the great plans of the revolutionary government.

What I say is not a theoretical analysis of the question, nor a hurried opinion. This has happened in all of America and the examples could be multiplied.

I remember the pathetic example of the University of Guatemala, which, like Cuban universities, was a vanguard of the people in struggle. It carried a

great conquest, the University was in the country and province of my birth, Cordoba, Argentina. We could analyze the personalities of the majority of those militant students who fought a hard battle for university autonomy in the face of conservative governments that ruled all Latin American countries in those times.

I don't want to name names because I don't want to provoke international polemics. I would like you to read Gabriel del Maso's book, for example, where he carefully studies university reform. Look there for the names of all the great authors of the reform. Then look at their political attitude, note what they have been in the public life of their respective countries, and you will be quite surprised.

You will have the same surprises I had when, believing in university autonomy as an important factor in the advancement of countries, I made the analysis that I advise you to make now. The black figures of reaction, the most hypocritical, because they speak the language of democracy and they systematically practice treachery, were those who supported and often the ones who appear as the heralds in their countries of university reform.

Advice

These words are directed at the great mass of students, at all those who comprise this university. I remember that I had some short conversations with some of you a few months ago. I recommended to you that you enter into contact with the people. Go to the masses, but not as an aristocratic dame goes to give them some coins. Don't go to give them your coin of knowledge or the coin of some other kind of help. Go to the people as a revolutionary member of a great legion that today governs Cuba, to work at the practical things of the country.

Let each professional use his wealth of knowledge and unite those interesting things he learned in his lecture halls with all those things, perhaps more interesting, that he may learn while building in the real battlefields—in the great fight for the construction of this country.

It is evident that one of the great duties of the university is to carry on its professional activities in the midst of the people. It is also evident that in order to do this, organizationally, the planning and directional aid of some state body is needed.

Nevertheless, the Revolution has not intervened in the University, because it doesn't consider that this would be the most logical and honorable way to do things. The Revolution simply points out the reality to students, and it depends on reason, which is so important, and on discussion. Thanks.

100-439048-2521
CHANGED TO
100-451241-2

67
JAN 27 1969

WJ/RMS

1/16/69

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS**

The Bureau has noted that captioned organization is currently selling a 1969 wall calendar which is "marking the history of the struggle in America." If this calendar contains information setting forth general background concerning "PS, you are requested to obtain two copies and furnish to the Bureau.

WNP: 1776
(4)

REC-33

19 JAN 16 1969

MAILED 21

AN 15 1969

COMM-FBI

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AN 2-7-1868

TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 1/6/69 ~~REC-20~~

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY,
DEMONSTRATION AGAINST CIA RECRUITING
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 9, 1969
IS-SDS
STAG

Re Chicago teletype 12/468

Enclosed herewith are 7 copies of an LHM regarding captioned demonstration. Copies of this LHM are also being furnished to USA, Chicago, ~~USA~~, Secret Service and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, in view of their interest in this matter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-14-69 BY: [redacted]

ADD. DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed LHM has been classified ~~confidential~~ to protect above sources who are of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could have an adverse effect on the security of the country.

3 Bureau (Encls. 7) (RM)
3 Chicago
(1-100-44715) (NU-SDS)

LAC: [redacted]
(6) Bishop

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

6 JAN 1969 Special Agent in Charge

SEC. SER. 100-439048
DATE FORWARDED: 1-14-69
HOW FORWARDED: 1/3
BY: [redacted]

REC-20

100-439048-2523
1 JAN 8 1969

INT. SEC.

CG 100-40903

Only those individuals and organizations were characterized wherein sufficient identifying data was contained in the files of the Chicago Division to subversively characterize these individuals and/or organizations.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40903

Chicago, Illinois
January 6, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, DEMONSTRATION
AGAINST CIA RECRUITING NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, JANUARY 9, 1969

[redacted] advised that the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) Chapter at Northwestern University (NU), Evanston, Illinois, had scheduled a meeting for December 5, 1968, at 8:00 p.m. in Harris Hall (on NU Campus). Source advised that purpose of the meeting was to formulate plans for a demonstration against Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) recruiters who have announced plans to be on the NU Campus January 9, 1969. Source added that the proposed demonstration received widespread publicity in the "Daily Northwestern", the NU student newspaper. Source stated that Roger Friedman was quoted as saying that he feels "Demonstrations this year would be obstructive in nature." b7d

ROGER FRIEDMAN

[redacted] that Roger Friedman is a leader of the SDS Chapter at Northwestern University. A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto. Chicago, Ill. b7d

[redacted] advised that the SDS meeting at Harris Hall was attended by approximately 50 persons and it was decided that a demonstration against the b7d

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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4/12/8

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

100-40903-253
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY,
DEMONSTRATION AGAINST CIA RECRUITING,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON,
ILLINOIS, JANURAY 9, 1969

CIA recruiters, on January 9, 1969, would definitely take place. Source further advised, however, that no specific activities were decided upon but that another meeting would be held on January 3, 1969.

[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED]

b7d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
January 6, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. CG 100-40903

Title STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY,
 DEMONSTRATION AGAINST CIA RECRUITING,
 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON,
 ILLINOIS, JANUARY 9, 1969.

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A
 DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, STAG

Reference Memorandum dated and captioned as
 above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

1 [REDACTED] b7C
SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

1/17/69

Director, FBI (100-439048)

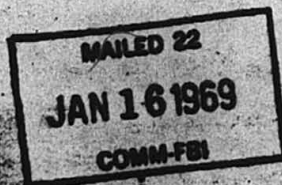
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Information has been received that captioned organization has prepared a mimeographed pamphlet approximately 50 pages entitled "The Destruction of the American University." The Bureau does not have any information concerning this pamphlet. You are, therefore, to immediately obtain two copies of the pamphlet and submit to the Bureau. 8

WNP:lvh
(4) lvh

REC 49 / 100 439048-2524

12 JAN 17 1969



JAN 20 1969
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-439048-NR 12-16-68

CHANGED TO

100-439048-42-NR 12-16-68

MAY 12 1969

P.W./H.N.

C.

100-439048-2525
CHANGED TO
100-439048-26-167x

MAY 12 1969

Bu' / Lmp

January 6, 1969

Director, FBI

(100-436048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

(SDS)

IS - C

REGISTERED MAIL
XXXXXXXXXX

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated 11/20/68.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Returned herewith.

NOT RECORDED

(13)

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

9 JAN

ENCLOSURE

JAN 7 1969

COMM-FBI

100-439048-2527
CHANGED TO
100-451436-1X

MAY 12 1963

BW/xmcp

Memorandum

DATE: 1-21-69

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAO, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS) -

IS-SDS

OO: CHICAGO

(Bufile 100-439048)

(CGfile 100-40903)

NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

IS-M

OO: CHICAGO

(Bufile 100-446997)

(CGfile 100-43951)

The Chicago Office is receiving an increasing number of letterhead memorandums (LHM), informant reports and other documents pertaining to strictly local SDS activities outside of the Chicago Division. This practice is not necessary and consumes considerable time of agent and clerical personnel.

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Albany (RM)
- 2 - Albuquerque (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
- 2 - Dallas (RM)
- 2 - Denver (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM)
- 2 - Kansas City (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - Memphis (RM)
- 2 - Miami (RM)
- 2 - Milwaukee (RM)
- 2 - Minneapolis (RM)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - Oklahoma City (RM)
- 2 - Omaha (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 2 - WFO (RM)
- 2 - Chicago

PLT:pag

(54) JAN 21 1969 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

100-439048-2528

15 JAN 21

REC-3

INDEXED

CG 100-40903
100-43951

Pertinent information relative to local SDS matters should be incorporated in the SDS report submitted by each office. Information developed regarding the SDS national office, its leaders, and policies should be transmitted to the office of origin in a manner consistent with the nature of the information.

In the future, it will be necessary to submit only one copy of SDS and New Left Movement reports to the office of origin unless there is a specific lead set out for Chicago.

All offices receiving this communication are requested to bring the above matters to the attention of agents handling security cases.

FBI

Date: 1/6/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Re Bureau letter dated 12/11/68 and Denver airtel and LHM to Bureau both dated 12/18/68, captioned [REDACTED] b7c

In referenced Bureau letter, it was indicated, in part, that the SDS had indicated it would send five observers to Cuba for the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution on 1/2/69.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] b1

For the additional information of the Bureau, the Denver Office furnished copies of the referenced airtel and LHM dated 12/18/68 to Boston, New York and WFO with leads to verify subjects' departure for Cuba.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
ELS:RIS
(4)

100-441,35 NH
1/22/69
1/22/69

REC-121

100-439048-253

JAN 8 1969

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge
56 JAN 30 1969

Sent _____ M Per _____

INT/50

CG 100-40903

Chicago is continuing to follow this matter closely and will keep the Bureau advised of any additional information developed regarding this matter.

FBI

Date: JAN 7 1969

Transmit the following in
Airtel

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-10903) (P)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SW

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies and for
Detroit two copies of a LHM which sets forth information
regarding the SDS National Council (NC) meeting held at Ann
Arbor, Michigan, during December, 1968.

- 1 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)
1 - 100-437041 (PLP)
2 - Detroit (Enc. 2) (RM) (100-30887)
3 - Chicago
1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-39748 (PLP)
1 - 100-45316 (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)

ELS:meh
(11)

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., CTR
RAO [redacted] ORD, CD, 1076

Copy to NY, S.F., Boston, LA, ICC Airtel
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 1-15-69
by [redacted]

JAN 17 1969

DATE FORW: 1-17-69

JAN 8 1969

HOW FORW: R/S

Approved: [Signature]

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

79 JAN 30 1969

CG 100-40903

The attached LHM was classified ~~confidential~~ in order to protect the above sources who are of continuing value, and the identification of these sources could have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S.

[REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] b1

In view of the above and the information as set forth in the attached LHM, the Bureau is requested to consider the feasibility of alerting all field offices regarding this matter inasmuch as it is felt by the Chicago Office that such information would be quite beneficial in their investigation of the SDS as well as this factional dispute may present excellent counterintelligence opportunities.

Chicago is following SDS activities closely and will keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent developments.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 7, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. CG 100-40903

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] that a meeting of the National Council (NC) of the SDS was held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, from December 27 through 31, 1968. According to [REDACTED] approximately 800 individuals were in attendance of which approximately 175 were voting delegates with about half of this number being members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). This SDS NC meeting was divided into two separate basic sections, which were as follows:

1. Education Conference -- December 27-29, 1968.
2. SDS NC Meeting -- December 30-31, 1968.

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] stated that at the onset of this SDS NC meeting, it was apparent that there was considerable friction between SDS members, especially Mike Klonsky and Bernardine Dohrn on one side, and members of the PLP and Fred Gordon on the other side. Sources stated that at times, during the course of this entire SDS NC meeting, there was considerable disagreement between these two factions which at times became quite heated. Sources added that for the most part Jared Israel, Jeff Gordon, John Levin and John Pennington led the PLP fight against the Klonsky-Dohrn SDS group. b7c

Sources further stated that PLP activities at this meeting were well organized and coordinated which included the stationing of various PLP members in the immediate area of the microphones in order that they might have ready access to them.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

XEROX
JAN 14 1969

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
classification~~
-253-

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

[REDACTED] related that registration for the SDS NC meeting took place on December 26, 1968, and during the evening hours of December 26, 1968, movies were shown on the following topics: b7d

1. San Francisco State College (SFSC) strike
2. Vietnam
3. Imperialism
4. Cuba

[REDACTED] advised that the SDS NC meeting convened on December 27, 1968, at 10:55 AM in plenary session. Dohrn, who chaired this session, addressed those assembled and stated that two problems had to be immediately settled which were: b7d

1. A housing shortage -- there was an immediate need for housing for an additional 200 SDS members.
2. Press policy.

A debate then ensued as to the press policy to be followed during the course of the entire SDS NC meeting. After considerable debate, the following policy was voted upon and adopted with respect to press coverage:

1. The press could use one tape recorder during the various sessions.
2. No other mechanical devices would be allowed, such as cameras.
3. Each individual from the press must register.
4. Each individual workshop would set their own policy with respect to press coverage.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Following the adoption of the press policy, Dohrn suggested that the following Agenda be adopted for the education conference:

AGENDA FOR EDUCATION CONFERENCE

FRIDAY

5:30 PM Presentation on S. F. State

People from S. F. State anti-racism struggle

8:00 PM Panel on Racism

John Levin, S. F. State
Les Coleman, Chicago Regional Staff
Howie Ember, Kent State U.
Claudia Oehrle, Columbia - Barnard SDS
Noel Ignatin, Union work at International Harvester

SATURDAY

9:30 AM Panel on Imperialism

Bernardine Dohrn, Interorg, Secretary
Howie Machtiger, U. of Chicago
Allen Gilbert, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS
Mark Hudd, formerly Columbia U.
Jared Israel, Northeastern U.

Workshops

8:00 PM Presentation on Cuba and Imperialism in Latin America

Ed Boorstein

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

SUNDAY

9:30 AM Panel: SDS: What Direction for the Movement?

Steve Halliwell, NYU
Jeff Gordon, NYU
Fred Gordon, Internal Educ. Secretary
Mike Klonsky, National Secretary

Workshops

8:00 PM

National Secretaries' Reports

Discussion of Agenda for Primary

Credentials

Following the adoption of the above agenda, the following workshops were also agreed upon:

1. Racism
2. Imperialism
3. Direction of SDS
 - a. High schools
 - b. Draft
 - c. SDS position on the Vietnam War.

[redacted] stated that prior to the adoption of the agenda for the education conference, YLP members and Fred Gordon, proposed another agenda which essentially was the same as proposed by Debra. b7d

Gordon, during this discussion, indicated that he desired that the panels be composed of SDS National officers with different political ideologies and stated that he wanted Mike Klonsky to present his youth proposal at these panel discussions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Klonsky then retorted by stating that as an SDS National officer, he felt this was unnecessary inasmuch as he would present his youth proposal on two different occasions, once when he made the National Secretary report and secondly, when he actually presented the proposal before the main body.

[REDACTED] during the course of this particular discussion, someone in the audience suggested that both Klonsky and Dohrn resign their National officer positions if they refused to appear on the panels. With this remark, there was applause and a vote was taken and it was voted that both Klonsky and Dohrn appear on the panels. b7d

[REDACTED] advised that at approximately 2:50 PM, December 27, 1968, the plenary session was terminated and those present divided into two different panels, with one panel dealing with "Racism" and the other on "High School organizing." b7d

According to the sources, the panel dealing with "Racism," consisted of several individuals from San Francisco State College, which included John Levin and Gene Marchai.

During the general discussion, an outline was given as to the history of the San Francisco State Student Strike and it was indicated that rallies, held during the course of this strike, had up to 7,000 participants. It was added that this large turn-out occurred in spite of President Samuel I. Hayakawa's statement that no demonstrations would be held.

(CPI) Gene Marchai stated that for the past three years, the PLP had control of the SFSC SDS Chapter and has done a lot of good work and was in part, responsible for the SFSC Student Strike. Marchai added that some of the SFSC Faculty would not commit themselves in this strike and in fact, hindered the students when they tried to "smash the cops." Marchai concluded his remarks by stating that SFSC was like an "armed garrison" and a student could get arrested for just walking around.

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Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

John Levin in his remarks stated that there were four problems facing radicals at SFSC which he listed as being:

1. Racism -- Racism at SFSC was the cause of the Student Strike-out as the strike continued, there was more and more support in favor of it.
2. Anti-Communism -- There was a reactionary fear due to statements made by Governor Ronald and the interception of a telegram sent by the students in France to the SFSC SDS. This telegram, according to Levin, was exposed as an indication that there was actually a Communist influence in the Student Strike.
3. Split in the workers and student alliance -- According to Levin, there were attempts by the SFSC administration to split the students on racist grounds and also anti-working class grounds; however, these efforts of the administration have failed.
4. Violence -- Levin related that violence has taken place during the course of the SFSC Student Strike and it was further indicated that the SFSC struggle could be the most important and violent in the history of SDS MEMBER OF STUDENT ORGANIZATION

After a dinner break which lasted from approximately 7:45 PM to 9:00 PM, December 27, 1968, the panel on "Racism" again reconvened and was chaired by Marge Maile. The first speaker was Howie Embers of Kent State who related that at Kent State, there was no announcement made by the Kent State administration that police recruiters would be on the campus. According to Embers, a hasty attempt was made by SDS to organize both the black and white students in order to stop this recruitment. At first, Embers stated, the black students would have nothing to do with SDS, but in the end, there was agreement on one very important point, that being that the police recruiters must leave the campus.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Embers added that as a result of the SDS efforts, the police recruiters left the campus.

The second speaker was Claudia Oehrle from the Columbia University SDS Chapter. Oehrle stated that Columbia University was planning to tear down part of the adjoining community and that as a result, in five years, there would be 15 to 20,000 families moved. She further stated that a committee has been formed in order to educate the nearby working class people and attempts were being made to educate them as to what is actually happening and will happen in the forthcoming years. *Mich. N.Y.*

Oehrle added that, through her efforts, she has found that the blacks were somewhat "uninterested" in what was happening to them and many would not join the struggle. This statement, according to [redacted] was met by boos. *b7d*

Following Oehrle, John Levin then discussed black nationalism and said that it was a bad thing, especially in the struggle at SFSC. It was Levin's belief that in order to carry forth the struggle, it was imperative that the blacks and white workers unite. *Mich.*

Les Coleman was the last speaker and he also discussed black nationalism and stated that black nationalism was warranted because among the workers in the factories, there is a feeling among the blacks that there is "white supremacy."

According to [redacted] this statement by COLEMAN, was met with a loud reaction from PLP members present at this panel and set the tone for the discussion which turned into a debate after the speakers were through with their initial speeches. *b7d*

Coleman then stated that this black nationalism was the result of the blacks feeling that they were in position of being in a "colony" and according to [redacted] this remark was again attacked by PLP members with derogatory shouts. *b7d*

Coleman continued by stating that the Communist Party (CP), until 1957, failed to understand the position of the black worker and again there were shouts.

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Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

According to [REDACTED] at the conclusion of the
aforementioned speeches, there was a question and answer
discussion period which took the form of PLP members attacking
Coleman and his "new working class ideas." In this connection,
Jared Israel attempted to refute Coleman's conception of
"black nationalism" and the belief that white workers have
"racist and supremacist ideas." b7d

This debate lasted for several hours, resulting in
strong indications that there was a serious dichotomy between
PLP and SDS.

The SDS Education Conference reconvened at approximately
11:10 AM, December 28, 1968, and a short film on Cuban revolutionary
tactics was shown. Following this film, a Panel on "Imperialism"
was held. The first speaker was Allen Gilbert. Gilbert discussed
the struggle of SDS at Harvard University against ROTC recruiters
on campus. Gilbert stated that demonstrations took place because
the military was a tool of the United States imperialism and
capitalism. He added that many liberals did not want ROTC courses
on campus because they did not meet with the high intellectual
standards of Harvard. SDS felt that this was not enough. ROTC
should not be allowed on campus because the military is "a tool
of the ruling class."

Bernardine Dohrn then spoke and stressed the importance
of an international alliance with the "Third World" in order to
smash American Imperialism. Dohrn advocated that all workers
unite in a common struggle because American Imperialism is felt,
not only here in the United States, but throughout the world.
She further advocated organizing within the military; organizing
blacks, whites, and Mexicans but afforded no plans in this
connection.

Following Dohrn's speech, Mark Rudd, who was directly
involved in the Columbia University Strike, spoke and he urged
that organizing be conducted at high schools and on college
campuses in order to create a "conscious student attitude against
imperialism." Rudd advocated and agreed with Dohrn that there
be more organizing within the military.

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Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Rudd continued by stating that as far as organizing on campuses, the problems of the working class people in the community must be brought forth through student-worker struggles. He said that not all campuses have issues of gyms and other such items, but there are other problems which could be raised.

Rudd added that the struggle, at SFSC was successful because 16 demands were presented. If only one had been present, Rudd stated, and accepted by the SFSC administration, there would be a likelihood that this demand would have been twisted around in favor of the SFSC administration.

Jared Israel then spoke and immediately attacked Dohrn and Rudd and stated that the only way to smash imperialism and capitalism was to unite the working class inasmuch as they were the primary force if there is to be a revolution and the eventual smashing of the state. Israel also attacked the importance of organizing the youth in colleges around gyms and similar problems. He spoke against the idea of a revolution of the youth as opposed to the working class.

According to [REDACTED] after Israel completed his remarks, he was met with a standing ovation by PLP members and sympathizers and shouts of obscenities by those who favor the idea of the "new working class." b7d

The last speaker was Howie Machtinger. He began by reading from a book in which Lenin said that the fundamental revolutionary force would be in the youth and the training of youth in the revolutionary struggles. Machtinger advocated the position of youth as opposed to PLP's dogmatic position concerning a purely workers' revolution.

Sources stated that after completion of the Panel discussion on "Imperialism," a work shop was then held with respect to Mike Klonsky's youth proposal entitled "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement." Sources stated that this workshop was disorganized, with only spontaneous discussion. Sources added that the discussion digressed considerably and did not, for the most part, relate to Klonsky's proposal at all.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

[REDACTED] also advised that during this discussion held at this workshop, John Jacobson did discuss "Youth Culture" and in this connection stated that the present day youth are oppressed differently from workers and suggested that SDS organize in high schools. b2d

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] that after an extended dinner break, a short guerilla theatre skit, based on the SFSC struggle against racism, was held. According to [REDACTED] Governor Reagan, former SFSC President [REDACTED] and the present SFSC President Samuel I. Hayskawa was ridiculed. b7d

Sources further advised that upon completion of the skit, all individuals came together in Plenary Session in order to hear a Presentation on Cuba by Ed Boorstein.

Boorstein, in his presentation, discussed the economic conditions in Cuba before the revolution and stated that American Imperialism was the cause of workers working only three or four months a year. Boorstein commented that American Imperialism had control of virtually all of Cuba's imports and exports and gave examples of United Fruit Company and another American fruit company having control of the complete coast of Cuba. He also commented that Cuban peasants made 325 dollars a year and never ate meat.

Boorstein continued in his remarks by stating that the Cuban Revolution was successful because it was violent action carried out by Fidel Castro and Che Gueverra gaining control of the military and winning the support of the people. He said that Che Gueverra believed that in order for a revolution to be successful, not "a skeleton" of the former ruling class can remain. Boorstein stated that in the early days when he was economic advisor to Che Gueverra, he was scrutinized closely.

Boorstein stated that he considers himself a friend of MAO Tse-tueg, Karl Marx, Lenin and Stalin and added that he has no preference to anyone of these individuals. Boorstein

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

concluded his remarks by indicating that United States Imperialism must be smashed throughout the World.

[redacted] advised that after Boorstein finished his speech, he received a loud, standing ovation. b7d

Following Boorstein's speech, a question and answer period was held.

During this period, Boorstein stated that he had nothing against PLP politics and that he has read a lot of Chairman Mao's and Lenin's work and agrees with them, but each revolutionary situation is different and one can not always go by the text book.

[redacted] also advised that Boorstein, also during this period, commented that the U. S. S. R., in his opinion, is a revisionist country, but it was absolutely necessary for Cuba to carry on trade with the U. S. S. R. because the only other alternative would be to solicit United States trade and this, according to Boorstein, would be a bad situation. b7d

[redacted] further advised that members of the PLP attacked Boorstein's remarks on every point and they indicated that they believed that Boorstein was brought to this SDS NC meeting by the SDS National Office collective for the expressed purpose to cloud the issues. b7d

[redacted] advised that the final session of the SDS Education Conference began at 11:45 AM, December 29, 1968, with approximately 750 individuals present. b7d

A panel on "What direction for the Movement" was held and was chaired by Tim Mc Carthy.

Fred Gordon was the first speaker and emphasized the following points:

1. The oppression of students and workers is different.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

2. He objects to lumping Students and Workers together.
3. At the present time there is no real class consciousness.
4. Capitalism is a common source of oppression; it oppresses both the students and workers, but differently.
5. Mike Klonsky in his statements, is not clear - he advocates militaristic action, but with no analysis. According to Gordon, this aspect is bad politics because it is vague.
6. Klonsky's indicates that students are interested in doing their own "thing", but what is actually needed is "base-building."

Gordon was followed by Steve Halliwell and made the following points in his remarks:

1. All Universities in the United States are just "on the job training force."
2. We can not discuss Marxism in old terms because the contradiction is not at the point of production due to cybernation and automation.
3. The PLP does not recognize this change towards an automation type of capitalism.
4. It is imperative that the present day students relate to the Communists.

Upon conclusion of Halliwell's remarks, Mike Klonsky then spoke. In his speech he noted the following main items:

1. As a direct result of racism and chauvinism of workers, students must move off the campuses.
2. Youth can be unified, although Klonsky admitted there are differences, because all youth are oppressed by capitalism in different ways.

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

3. Youth can be organized and have their own organizations.
4. The great contradiction of youth is the "socialization process of capitalism."
5. The "drop-out", and the youth, as a result of this contradiction and the socialization process, realize that jails and courts are rigged because many are in jail for long periods of time before coming to trial and realize this is the control of capitalism. Klonsky continued by stating that youth gangs and other personalistic rebellions exemplify this.
6. Youth can raise consciousness of working class people because of their revolutionary ideas.
7. Klonsky stated that it was important that we understand that youth are not a class and is not the "ruling class."
8. Klonsky stated that he realizes that there will never be a revolution not led by the industrial working class, but youth, according to Klonsky, can help raise this consciousness.
9. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) probably helps channel deserters because they realize a need for offering an outlet for youth frustration and anti-capitalist manipulation: Klonsky added that it is up to us to offer this youth a revolutionary alternative, therefore, we must organize the GI.'s.
10. We must realize that blacks are in a "colonial - struggle" against the capitalist mother country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Klonsky in his remarks, according to [REDACTED] b7d, made obscene remarks against Fred Gordon in connection with a recent pamphlet written by him and he, Klonsky, attacked PLP's position of not announcing to the workers in factories that they are communists.

Jeff Gordon then spoke and made the following comments:

1. He advocates a worker-student alliance.
2. Gordon attacked Klonsky's position on the pamphlet written by Fred Gordon and stated that in order for Fred Gordon to get it printed, he had to rely on the New England SDS Region because Klonsky refused to allow it to be printed.
3. Gordon also defended the right for an individual not to allow his name to be signed to an article inasmuch as some of the individuals were still working in the factories and would lose their jobs if they were identified.
4. Gordon stated that no PLP member accepts a 2-S student deferment but the military does not want a PLP member organizing servicemen; therefore, they seldom enter the service.
5. Gordon saw the primary contradiction in the military service as soldier versus Imperialism and soldier versus officers.

Following the completion of the aforementioned panel, a lunch break was taken, and upon returning, the three National SDS officers gave their report.

Fred Gordon gave his report as Internal Education Secretary. Gordon made the following points:

1. College students are oppressed both materially and culturally.
- ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

2. Students should join with other oppressed people, such as the workers.
3. There is little in common among students.
4. In a worker-student alliance, students must realize that workers are oppressed more.
5. Worker-student alliances have worked in practice and mentioned cities of Boston, San Francisco and New York City.
6. Failure to create a literature program was the failure of SDS people to send in reports.
7. Some of the attacks on the part of Klonsky is because of his, Gordon's, "worker-student alliance politics."

Following Gordon, Klonsky then gave his report as SDS National Secretary. Klonsky in his report, defended the politics as put forth in his youth proposal. He began his report by stating that he agreed with some of the PLP's suggestions about the main thrust of a revolution coming from the "primary conflict," that being between the industrial working class and the capitalists. Klonsky also agreed that the secondary contradictions were also very important. Those secondary contradictions can be seen through the struggles of youth. Klonsky then proceeded to give an example of the above, using the City of Los Angeles where he stated, a new law was passed which allows for the arrest of young people who are not doing anything or that they look like they have no purpose on Sunset Strip. He said these people were arrested and thrown into jail or sent to work farms and are not heard from for six to eight months.

Klonsky continued by stating that he first got into the movement in Los Angeles by offering draft counseling on Sunset Strip. He said that this is the first time he has ever made a proposal and he feels that he is operating from a minority position. However, the most important thing was not getting his proposal passed, but in organizing around it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Klonsky further stated that the youth can be important in the revolution and in ultimately seizing state power and they can be organized around their own oppression and can relate that to the worker and thus create consciousness.

According to [REDACTED] upon completion of his report, Klonsky received a loud, standing ovation that lasted for several minutes. b7d

Bernadine Dohrn, as the SDS Inter-organizational Secretary, then gave her report. She stated that she agreed with Klonsky and said that we must create an international revolutionary consciousness. Dohrn advocated the youth movement and added that their struggle could be seen in concrete ways.

Dohrn, in her concluding report, stated that it was important to organize high schools and junior colleges and bring our movement to them.

According to [REDACTED] following the completion of the various National Secretaries' reports, announcement was made and acceptance made of new SDS Chapters. In this connection, there was one challenge from the Ann Arbor, Michigan, SDS Chapter about a splinter faction. The present chapter wanted to accept the faction that had originally split away, but the dissenters objected. After a short debate, a vote was taken and it was decided that the dissenters could not form a separate SDS chapter. b7d

[REDACTED] added that upon completion of this matter a proposal was made and accepted that the proposals to be submitted on December 30, 1968, would be presented in the following order: b7d

1. Klonsky's Youth Proposal
2. Racism
3. Inauguration
4. Work-In-Pamphlet
5. Cuba Week

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- 6. Women's Liberation
- 7. High Schools
- 8. General Category

[REDACTED] advised that the first plenary session of the SDS NC meeting commenced at 12:15 p.m., December 30, 1968, with approximately 800 persons present. This plenary session, which was chaired by Tim McCarthy, first took under consideration Klonsky's youth proposal which was entitled, "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement." Copies of this proposal were furnished to each individual present and read in part as follows: b7d

"At this point in history, SDS is faced with its most crucial ideological decision, that of determining its direction with regards to the working class. At this time there must be a realization on the part of many in our movement that students alone cannot and will not be able to bring about the downfall of capitalism, the system which is at the root of man's oppression. Many of us are going to have to go through important changes, personally. As students, we have been indoctrinated with many racist and anti-working-class notions that in turn have produced racism and class-chauvinism in SDS and was responsible largely for the student-power focus which our movement has had for many years. Student power at this stage of our movement has to be seen as economism: that is, organizing people around a narrow definition of self-interest as opposed to class interest. We are moving beyond this now, but that movement must be planned carefully and understood by all.

"The fact that we saw ourselves as students as well as radicals, and accepted that classification of ourselves and many of the false privileges that went along with it (2-S deferment, promise of the 'good life' upon graduation, etc.) was primarily responsible for the reactionary tendencies in SDS.

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"Main Task

"The main task now is to begin moving beyond the limitations of struggle placed upon a student movement. We must realize our potential to reach out to new constituencies both on and off campus and build SDS into a youth movement that is revolutionary.

"The notion that we must remain simply an anti-imperialist student organization' is no longer viable. The nature of our struggle is such that it necessitates an organization that is made up of youth and not just students, and that these youth become class conscious. This means that our struggles must be integrated into the struggles of working people.

"One thing should be clear. This perspective doesn't see youth as a class or say that youth will make the revolution by itself. Neither does it say that youth are necessarily more oppressed than older people, simply that they are oppressed in different ways. There are contradictions that touch youth specifically. To understand why there is a need for a youth movement, first we must come to see how youth are oppressed.

"Oppression of Youth:

"Youth around the world have the potential to become a critical force.

"Institutions like schools, the military, the courts and the police all act to oppress youth in specific ways, as does the work place.

"The ruling class recognizes the critical potential of young people. This is why they develop so many organizational forms to contain them.

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"Revolutionary Youth

"We must also understand what role a youth movement would have in the context of building a revolution. An organized class-conscious youth movement would serve basically four functions in building revolutionary struggle:

"1. An organized revolutionary youth movement is itself a powerful force for revolutionary struggle. In other words, our struggle is the class struggle.

"2. Youth is a critical force which---through struggle can expose war, racism, the exploitation of labor and the oppression of youth.

"3. Because we can organize---as a student movement---around the contradictions that affect youth specifically, we can organize young working people into our class-conscious anti-capitalist movement.

"4. The expansion of the base of the youth movement to include young people changes the character of our movement importantly: because it fights the tendency of our student movement to define itself in terms of 'student interest' rather than class interest.

"Because we see a revolutionary youth movement as an important part of building a full revolutionary working-class movement, we must self-consciously shape our own strategy now with a view to that youth movement.

"Racism

"Building a class-conscious youth movement means fighting racism. SDS must see this fight as a primary task.

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"We must also fight racism within our own movement and among youth in general and make our loyalty to the black liberation struggle more solid.

"The implementation part of this proposal should not be seen as a national program of action but rather as some suggested actions as well as some necessary actions to be taken if such a youth movement is to be built.

"1. Build Class Consciousness in the Student Movement in the Development Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement

"a. SDS organizers would direct the focus of their energies to organizing on campuses of working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools and technical schools as well as high schools and junior colleges.

"b. Attacks should also focus on the University as an arm of the Corporations that exploit and oppress workers. Corporations that exploit workers should be fought on campus. (Aside from producing napalm, Dow Chemical Company has plants in 27 countries of the third-world and is among the largest international corporations).

"c. SDS should move towards the building of alliances with non-academic employees on the campus based on struggle against the common enemy, the university. SDS should view the university as a corporation that directly oppresses the working class.

"d. SDS should move to "destudentize" other students by attacking the false privileges of the university, e.g., the 2-S deferment should be attacked on that basis.

"e. Some of us should move into factories and shops as well as into working-class communities, to better understand the material oppression of industrial workers, as well as to eradicate prejudices against workers.

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"f. We should move into the liberation struggle now being fought inside the armed forces and take an active part. Up until now, we have paid only lip-service to that struggle of mostly working class youth.

"g. Youth should be made to see their own struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese against imperialism as the same struggle. The war must continue to be an important focus for SDS organizing.

"h. We must join the fight against the class and racism nature of the public school system.

"i. Drop-out and forced-out youth both should be encouraged to join our movement.

"II. Attack on Institutional Racism

"We must view the university as a racism and imperialist institution which acts to oppress the working class and is the brain center of repression against the liberation struggles at home and around the world. Programs should be developed which aggressively attack it as such and attempt to stop it from functioning in that manner. Targets should include:

- a. Police institutes on the campus
- b. The real estate establishment (The University of Chicago is among the largest slumlords in the city)
- c. Centers for counter-insurgency (domestic and foreign) including research and planning centers and sociology and education schools which teach people racism so that they can help defeat the struggles of blacks.
- d. Racism in the classroom, especially in high schools where students are forced by law to sit and listen to racist and class prejudiced distortions of history.

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- e. A fight should be waged for the admission of black students and brown students to help wage the fight against racism on the campus. Blacks are carrying on the most militant fights both on and off the campus and more black admissions mean a more militant campus movement. We must also expose the racist and class nature of admissions systems and the high school track system and demand that the schools be opened up to the community so that they too can struggle to stop its oppression."

According to [REDACTED] there was a general discussion by the whole body for approximately 1 and a half hours with different speakers defending and attacking the proposal. Upon completion of this debate, Tim McCarthy stated that he would hear four speakers for and four speakers against; thereby taking the discussion out of the body as a whole. b7d

Among those who spoke at this time were:

1. Peter Pran - Pran defended the proposal by stating that the youth can help the revolution.
2. John Dunn - Dunn spoke against it.
3. John Jacobsen - Jacobsen spoke in favor of the proposal.
4. Earl Silber - Silber spoke against the proposal and stated that this proposal sounded like the old Communist party line of organizing youth.

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5. Kathy Fischer - Fischer spoke against it by giving examples of action at her school, the University of Chicago, and stated that SDS there had no real organization.

6. Mike Klonsky - Klonsky defended his proposal saying that the PLP was trying to distort the issue by giving isolated examples that weren't really pertinent.

Upon completion of the above remarks, a vote was taken and the proposal passed with a plurality of approximately 16 votes. After the completion of this vote, there was wild applause and shouting.

This plenary session then took up the proposal on racism which reads in part as follows and was submitted by students from SFSC:

"The Material Basis of Racism

"The material basis of racism is capitalism's driving need to maximize profits. It is estimated that an extra \$22 billion a year is made off the wage differential between black and white workers (black workers make an average of \$3000 less per year than white workers). Low wages for black workers and black unemployment are used to keep down wages for all workers; rent and food prices are higher in black and third world ghettos.

7 Black workers are a major section of the industrial work force, e.g., in steel, auto, longshore, railroad. The superexploitation of that section of the working class serves to divide the working class, and to prevent them from uniting against the bosses. Therefore, because racism is based on class exploitation, it is in the material interest of the entire working class and the majority of students to defeat it.

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"The Superstructure of Racism"

"The ruling class also has created a whole series of racist myths and prejudices in order to justify and continue the superexploitation of third world people at home and abroad. These lies tell us that, "There is something inherently inferior in third world people that leads to their being slaves." These lies are used to mask the necessity of capitalism to enslave the great majority of the people in the world.

"Racism Can Only Be Defeated on a Class Basis"

"To primarily attack the superstructure of racism leads to a psychological and moralistic attitude. By not rallying people to attack the material superexploitation and oppression which generates racism, this liberal political approach only serves to perpetuate racism.

"To unite black and white people against the racist practices of the class enemy is the only way to defeat racism. This must be concretely applied to specific struggles, as in the recent series of wildcat strikes of black and white workers led by black caucuses (e.g., REA, steel) and as at Columbia and S.F. State. The superstructure of racism is very powerful and has a life of its own, and its manifestations must also be fought.

"Fight Racism in the University"

"Over the last few years SDS has led struggles to expose the imperialist and class nature of the university and the need to build a worker-student alliance. We have to at this point, begin to consciously point out that struggle against one of the main aspects of bourgeois education, one of its most sacred tenants--the promotion of racism.

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"If we are serious about allying with third world students as well as workers in fighting facism we should have no illusions about the nature of this fight. It will lead us into even sharper struggles against the class enemy than we have previously experienced.

"Racism in the Movement

"If we are to take part in or lead any struggles against the racist nature of the university we first of all must conduct a struggle around racist attitudes in the movement.

" 1) Racism and the building of the worker-student alliance. The vast majority of the non-white people in this country are part of the working class--the most exploited section of the working class. Non-white workers are in the vanguard of struggles against the bosses and the sell-out union leadership. We should be clear that the contempt of many students for the working class in general is in particular an attack on third world workers as well. To refuse or fight against building an alliance with the working class around anti-racist politics is nothing but capitulation to imperialism.

"2) The attitude that "racism is amorphous-white students can't relate to it". This arguement denies the super-exploitation and oppression of third world people and third world students in particular. It shows no understanding of the basic way in which racism is used by the ruling class.

" 3) The non-class "cultural oppression approach" which leads to the racist formulation that "students are niggers too." How many white students have been shot down by the cops? How many white students face the problem of a ghetto existence? Non-white people are super-exploited. They get the lowest wages, worst jobs, worst working and living conditions, and are part of the most oppressed class, the working class. Students also are oppressed (ie, we're fed racist, anti-working class lies in the classroom, taught to be social workers who regulate poverty and oppression instead of helping people, etc.) but this

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oppression is not nearly as sharp as the oppression of non-white students and workers. Students also have some privileges (for instance, 2-S deferments).

"There is an even more racist lie in the "student as nigger" formulation. Instead of seeing third world people as the heart of the work force, and therefore in a position of tremendous strength, it sees them as powerless and alienated--like students. This is an insult to both black people and students.

" 4) Reverse Chauvinism. Some people say that it is racist to criticize anything put forward by a black person, or at least by someone who claims to be a black militant. This patronizing attitude comes from not understanding that the class aspect of imperialist oppression is primary. It furthers nationalism, an ideology that the ruling class relies on to split the movement.

" 5) The role of revolutionary violence. One of the main tactics of the administration at SFSC was to have their liberal front men express their undying support for demands of third world students, but at the same time condemn their "violence." The necessity of working people and particularly black people to use violence is a result of the violent and systematic oppression which the ruling class perpetuates every day. Revolutionary violence against the class enemy and its lackeys (college administrators) is the only way that class in the long run is going to be smashed. The role of white radicals is not to excuse or rationalize the sharpness with which the third world students are willing to fight the administration, but to build support for it, draw courage from it, and participate in it.

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" Within the movement we must have a clear and serious attitude towards the increasing sharpness of the struggle against the state. The adage that there are some that talk and some that act proved itself very true at SF State.

"We need no more diagrams by "new left" journalists about how to blow up armored cars. What we do need is a lifelong commitment in practice to fight the ruling class by whatever means necessary.

" Anti-Communism -- The Twin Brother of Racism

" At SFSC red-baiting attacks have been directed against third world students and other radical groups, particularly SDS and PLP. The red-baiting of the strike was used in the same way as racism. It was directed at dividing the people so that they would be less able to fight the administration. The ruling class pushes the idea that the communists are using the "not unfounded grievances of the people" (Vietnamese or third world people in the United States) while "we" (the white ruling class) know what is really best for the people -- the imperialist system. The ruling class fears communist participation in these struggles because communists put forward proletarian internationalism, which is the only answer to the imperialist's attempt to divide and rule on a national basis.

" Nationalism has replaced pacificism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the Black Liberation Movement. Nationalism is used to divert third world people from struggle on a class basis and from making alliances with white workers and students. Because of the special super-exploitation of Black people, their struggle is now national in form and working class in content.

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"Defeating Racism is the Key to Defeating Nationalism"

" Racism is the material basis of nationalism. The racism that third world people encounter from white workers and students make nationalism that much more believable. White students and workers should never use opposing nationalism as an excuse for not primarily and fiercely fighting racism.

" Specific Proposals

" 1) Special Admissions. Struggles around admissions of third world students are breaking out on campuses around the country. This is a setback for the ruling class and a step forward for the student movement. These struggles unite third world and white students. They unite the student movement with third world workers. And they have raised the movement to a higher level of mass militancy. The ruling class wants to co-opt these struggles by claiming that admitting more third world students will end racism.

"SDS as well as radicals among the third world students, must play a major role in these struggles if they are not to be co-opted. We have to point out that more college admissions cannot be a strategy to end racism, but is a tactic to sharpen the attack on capitalism. We have to fight around the class content of our education.

" 2) Urban Removal. Many universities (Columbia, Chicago) are trying to expand their campuses into the surrounding ghettos. This means the eviction of third world working class families. Black, brown and white students should ally with the working class communities to stop these evictions against their common enemy-the administration.

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"3) Support Strikes. Part of the overall strategy for a worker-student alliance is to fight racism by supporting the on-the-job struggles of the third world workers, including campus workers. This means interjecting anti-racist ideology into the struggles of all workers.

"4) Support of ghetto rebellions. This means winning students to seeing the need to support the sharp struggles of black and other non-white workers, as opposed to the band-aid running and helpful tactical hints to the black masses put forward in new-left publications. We must build this support around seeing the right to use "whatever means necessary" to fight the daily violent oppression used by the ruling class against the people.

"5) High Schools The alliance with high school students was an important element at S.F. State: the high school students supported the strike and raised their own demands. Anti-racism is vital in building the high school movement.

"6) Take the initiative in education on racism. It is the responsibility of white radicals, not black students, to fight racist attitudes among white students. One thing we used successfully during the strike was classroom education -- going into classes and speaking on questions of racism in the university and other questions relating to the strike. We should also be clear that racism is a principled question, and that it will destroy the movement unless it is fought and defeated.

"7) The National Office should open "New Left Notes" to more articles relating to racism and the worker-student alliance, particularly those written by chapter people involved in such struggles, rather than "new-left" theoreticians.

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" 8) The movement must involve working people or it will be isolated and doomed. Campus struggles must be related and tied to working class struggles. Active support should be given to local strikes; students should keep in close touch with rank-and-file union caucuses and individuals previously contacted; community support and involvement should be sought for SDS activities. Only when the student movement is united with the masses of working people in this country will we be on the way to crushing the imperialist system. "

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[redacted] stated that upon submission of the above Proposal to the SDS NC Meeting, a two and one-half hour discussion took place, during which time, various speakers gave their own personal views on this specific matter. Upon completion of this discussion, TIM MC CARTHY then allowed four speakers for and four speakers against the Racism proposal to speak and in this connection, DAVID MILLSTONE offered an amendment to the original proposal that Section Seven of the proposal be omitted because of the implications therein. b7d
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Sources further stated that upon the conclusion of the speakers, a vote was then taken for the passage. MC CARTHY and three other individuals, who assisted him in counting the votes, took the vote on three different occasions; however, each time the vote was taken a discrepancy was noted. A roll call vote was then suggested and conducted over the objections of MC CARTHY who stated that such a roll call vote would take too much time.

The roll call vote was by chapter and first name of the delegates only in order to insure security for the individual delegates. The SFSC Racism proposal was passed, 83 to 81, with Section Seven of the original proposal deleted. The passage of this proposal met with wild applause.

[redacted] advised that upon completion of the discussions and voting on the Racism Proposal, the SDS NC Meeting, still in plenary session, then heard a motion, made by MARGE HAILE, that the SDS NC agenda be changed to read that the proposal on "Women's Liberation" be the first order of business at the second session of the SDS NC Meeting, scheduled to be held on December 31, 1968. b7d

Upon the submission of this proposed change, considerable discussion ensued. Individuals against the change in the agenda were mostly PLP members who indicated that they thought this was an attempt to push the question of the "Work-In Proposal", further down on the agenda. However, the motion was voted on and passed, amending the original adopted agenda to now read as follows:

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1. Women's Liberation
2. Inauguration Proposals
3. Work-In Pamphlet
4. Cuba Week
5. High Schools
6. General Category.

The first SDS NC plenary session, upon completion of the aforementioned business, adjourned at 1:15 a.m.

[REDACTED] advised that the second plenary session of the SDS NC Meeting reconvened at 11:20 a.m., December 31, 1968, with approximately 450 individuals in attendance. TIM MC CARTHY again chaired this session. b7d

The first item of business was the submission and discussion of the "Women's Liberation Proposal." This proposal, whose primary supporters were NOEL IGNATIN and MARGE HAILE, reads in part as follows:

"Women form the oldest and largest continually oppressed group in the family of humankind, their subjugation dating from the downfall of primitive communal society and the rise of private property.

"The inability of the most advanced, technologically developed" etc, capitalist society to provide equality to half its citizens not only exposes the thorough hypocrisy of all that society's words about "justice" and equality". It also shows that the struggle for equality of women is a revolutionary task that is, one which cannot be completed under the present system of private property and the exploitation of the majority of people by a social class which is defined by its ownership of the means of producing wealth.

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"Male supremacy in the movement mirrors male supremacy in capitalist society. The fact that male supremacy persists in the movement today, raises the issue that although no people's liberation can happen without a socialist revolution in this country, a socialist revolution could take place which maintains the secondary position of women in society. Therefore the liberation of women must become a conscious part of our struggle for people's liberation.

"Women are not oppressors as a class but they are oppressed as women within each class. We emphasize that oppression of women through male supremacy, like racism which oppresses black people, is not merely a quantitative increase in the class exploitation which women experience, but also a qualitatively different kind of oppression which they experience as women in addition to the exploitation of all working people.

MATERIAL BASIS

"Before discussing the material basis of the oppression of women, we must emphasize here that not only is the oppression of women most severe in the working class, but that black working class women are the most oppressed group in the society. Black women are a uniquely oppressed group because as blacks, as workers, and as women they experience the most compounded forms of oppression capitalism/imperialism has devised.

"The material basis of woman's oppression can be listed under three main headings:

- " 1. Women are a reserve army of labor to bring down wages; for instance a) they have been used in the past to take the place of male workers needed by the military in wartime b) at times women are used against collectively organized groups of workers, since their condition forces them to work for lower pay.
- " 2. Women fulfill the function of saving enormous costs for the bourgeoisie in that they perform free services (housekeeping) providing the necessities of life for the working class man at the lowest possible costs.

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3. Another objective function of the oppression of women in capitalist society is to help obscure the class nature of that society. The nature of women's material condition places them in a relationship which acts as a lightning rod for man's justified frustration, anger, and shame at their inability to control their natural and social environment.

SUPERSTRUCTURE IN GENERAL --- IDEOLOGY IN PARTICULAR

" The aspects of the oppression of women in a capitalist society are of a dialectical nature as are those of the oppressed classes in general, and the exploited class in particular.

" In order for women to become full political people in SDS and in order for the oppression of women to be taken on as a struggle by SDS, male supremacy must be eliminated within the organization itself. SDS people must battle two beliefs. First, women in SDS must battle the belief that struggling for their own liberation is not important. Second, SDS must battle the belief that the fight for equality of women is solely the business of women, and that only women have the right and responsibility to oppose male domination.

" Whatever forms within SDS are decided upon to organize this campaign, they should be such that the chapter as a whole has charge and responsibility, with women taking the main responsibility to organize women for their liberation, and men taking the main responsibility to attack male supremacy and to win the support of other men.

" We propose that SDS take up the fight for women's rights on campus by raising several specific demands which will expose the way women are specially oppressed within the university set-up and rally students to fight against that oppression.

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"1. We should launch a campaign to bring the wages of women employees of the university up to the level of men. This must definitely not be subordinated in a general struggle to raise wages of all employees, nor should it be postponed on the ground that it would divert attention from the just demands of all employees, male and female. The central question is oppression --- the genral oppression of all employees and the special harsh oppression of women employees. In some cases, tackling the especially low level of women's wages may prove to be the key to solidifying all the employees and winning improvements for all. In general, it would be better to raise the two questions side by side, with equal emphasis; but in no case should SDS challenge the low wages and bad conditions generally without especially challenging the especially low wages and bad conditions for women.

"2. It is necessary to begin the struggle for women's equality in educational institutions where working class women are trained and socialized. Within the context of work in the high schools, state schools, teachers' colleges, junior colleges, and trade schools, emphasis should be placed on beauty schools, secretarial, nursing, and other job training schools for women.

"3. We should relate the struggle for women's rights in the schools to the struggle of women generally, and especially working class women, against the institutions that repress them, for example juvenile court, girls' homes, women's detention centers and prisons, family court, welfare, labor battles such as Levi Strauss, and others.

"4. Launch fights around curriculum and organize in classrooms to expose how the schools reinforce the amel supremacist definition of "woman's role." Challenge the counseling practice of steering women into auxiliary occupations. Demand the teaching of the history of woman's struggles for liberation. This should be carried out in the context of on-going programs which challenge source content and direction.

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"The campaign for specific demands should be accompanied by research, internal education and propaganda by SDS explaining why women are still subjugated by men, why they cannot achieve equality under the present system, and why all men and women should fight for women's liberation."

The main arguments during the course of the discussions held on this proposal reflected that PLP members were of the opinion that women are not directly oppressed by men, but are oppressed by the primary contradiction between the ruling class and the working class which divides women of today. The analysis of the proposal was constantly challenged by the PLP members.

According to these sources, the opposing view indicated that this in fact was true, but the direct secondary conditions are that women are oppressed just because they are women and this aspect must be dealt with in a concrete way.

After a lengthy debate and discussion, the above proposal was voted on and passed in its original form.

This SDS National Committee (NC) Plenary session then took into consideration a proposal on the forthcoming "Inauguration" as submitted by the National Mobilization Committee to End the war in Vietnam (NMC), which was not submitted to this body in written form.

A discussion then developed around this proposal and it was immediately indicated that the NMC proposal was no good because it represented "liberal garbage".

MARK RUDD spoke in favor of SDS participating in the "Inauguration activities" and stated that this event would offer an excellent opportunity for SDS to present its politics and also to help present a clear line of action for all new SDS chapters which have recently joined SDS. RUDD added it would be a good organizing weapon because the organizing is generally made easier after a direct confrontation against the American Imperialists.

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According to [REDACTED] at this point in the discussion, a group of individuals called the "Black Caucus" addressed the Plenary Session and stated that to go to Washington, D. C. during the Inauguration, would only cause the black community to feel the reprisals of SDS actions and that this would break any thought of obtaining a black-white student alliance against American oppression. MICH.
b7d

MIKE KLONSKY spoke on this issue and indicated that he was against SDS going to Washington, D. C. during this forthcoming Inauguration, but not on the grounds suggested by members of the PLP. KLONSKY indicated that students should first organize a student-worker alliance before any confrontations should be attempted.

The SDS NC meeting then agreed to vote on the following proposals:

1. That SDS should either go to Washington, D.C. for the Inauguration or not go - It was voted that SDS would not go to Washington, D. C.
2. To accept the "Black Caucus" position as the reason for not going to Washington, D. C. This was voted down.

The next item of business taken into consideration was the "Work-In" pamphlet by FRED GORDON. No specific proposal was distributed, but it was read by FRED GORDON. GORDON related the events of the failure of the SDS National Office to print the pamphlet which he described as "political suppression".

GORDON continued by stating that there has been suppression in the "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, because KLONSKY does not accept "student-worker politics" and has in fact, according to GORDON, taken it upon himself to judge and create SDS policy with no regard for any disagreeing points of view. GORDON then proposed the following:

1. That the SDS National Office refrain from this political suppression in the "New Left Notes" and in the print of educational material.

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2. All political points of view be heard. GORDON added that politics, which denounce the Vietnam war on moralistic grounds, not be published because they fail in an analysis of American Imperialism and Capitalism as the real cause.

KLONSKY then spoke to those assembled at this Plenary Session and stated that GORDON has not, since his election as an SDS National Officer, submitted one single piece of educational literature until this "Work-In" pamphlet. KLONSKY stated that GORDON tried to "sneak" this pamphlet by the SDS National Office by not telling most of the SDS National Office staff about it and not allowing for critical discussion. KLONSKY added that he first gained knowledge of the pamphlet when he saw the type already set for the pamphlet and at that time he nor BERNARDINE DOHRN, had absolutely no previous knowledge about it.

KLONSKY further stated that he lost his temper and probably said some things that he should not have and then proceeded to criticize GORDON for not having the articles signed and endeavoring to pass the "Work-In" pamphlet as SDS policy. KLONSKY said that some censorship is necessary and if refusing to allow the pamphlet to be printed because it was not first discussed critically, that GORDON had endeavored to "sneak" it by the SDS National Office staff, then this is political censorship and he is guilty but censorship of this nature is necessary.

KLONSKY continued his remarks by stating that everything now seems to be seen as two distinct factions - one faction being the PLP and the rest of SDS. KLONSKY said that debate on ideological issues is good, but factional antagonism could only lead to the complete destruction of SDS. He suggested that at the forthcoming June, 1969, SDS National Convention, the people who favor worker-student alliance politics should put forth more candidates for the National Interim Committee (NIC) and not let national officers be elected without opposition.

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RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Bernardine Dohrn spoke next and she supported Klonsky and criticized Fred Gordon as being lax in his duties as SDS National Education Secretary. She further criticized his literature program in particular and stated that although SDS does have an excellent literature program, it is not the result of any efforts on the part of Gordon.

Dohrn also agreed with Klonsky in the analysis of the "Work-In Controversy," and said she has heard a lot of lies about a SDS National Office collective and political suppression.

After the three SDS National Secretaries gave their views concerning the "Work-In Pamphlet," a two hour discussion then ensued.

During this discussion, Dohrn presented a counter proposal stating that 15,000 copies of the pamphlet be printed and a sentence be incorporated which would state that this pamphlet represented a significant position in SDS. According to [REDACTED] this sentence would in affect mean that this pamphlet was not the policy of SDS, and that it also precluded the censorship of the SDS National Office regarding "political suppression." It further meant that Fred Gordon's proposal which included the point that "New Left Notes" be open to articles critical of Cuba. b7d

[REDACTED] advised that after discussion and debate, a vote was taken on the above proposals. b7d The vote was in favor of Dohrn's proposal and was carried by approximately three votes.

The PLP faction then moved for a roll call vote and Tim McCarthy moved that this not happen due to a shortage of time needed to discuss other important matters on the agenda. This move, on the part of McCarthy, brought out a loud and lengthy discussion on whether a roll call vote was in order.

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RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Jeff Gordon, a PLP member, stated that if six delegates wanted a roll call vote, the SDS Constitution states that one is in order. As a result, McCarthy reluctantly decided in favor of a roll call vote. Chapters and first names of voting delegates were read aloud in order to protect against security problems. 11/16/68

As a result of the roll call vote, the final vote was approximately 86 to 83 in favor of the Dohrn Proposal, which was strongly supported by Mike Klonsky and the other NIC members. Upon the completion of the voting, there was loud cheering from those in attendance.

According to [REDACTED] due to the lack of time, no other business matters on the previously approved agenda were considered. However, [REDACTED] advised this SDS NC Plenary Session did take in consideration a proposal with respect to fund raising. It was indicated that funds were needed to pay for damages that had occurred during the course of this meeting. Marge Harle made this proposal and stated that a mimeograph machine was broken and other property was destroyed, and as a result, SDS would need about \$2,000.00 in order to break even. b7d

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Chip Marshall, NIC Member, opened the fund raising appeal by writing a check for \$30.00 and SDS chapters present were urged to donate. During the course of this fund raising appeal, Mike Klonsky auctioned off his red T-shirt which had a picture of Lenin on the back and received \$15.00 for the shirt. 2.11

Upon completion of the fund raising efforts, the SDS NC Meeting adjourned at 11:05 P. M.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b1

The October 19, 1967, edition of the "North Valley Mail," a weekly publication in Granada Hills, California, contains an article which reflects that Robert Klonsky was arrested in 1953 by the FBI and charged with advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Klonsky was convicted of this charge but his conviction was later reversed by the Supreme Court. Klonsky was the former Organizational Secretary of the Communist Party in Eastern Pennsylvania.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

Characterizations of SDS, PLP and NLG are attached hereto.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scher after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The August, 1968, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "above all, this paper is dedicated to the fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire Government on every level."

The source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 121 concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

January 7, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40903

Title

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

Character

Reference

Communication dated and captioned
as above at Chicago,

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

100-439043-2532

CHANGED TO

100-439043-42-64x

MAY 12 1969

PSW / Gmp

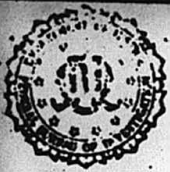
C

[REDACTED] b7f
[REDACTED] b1
The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to adequately protect sources one through four which are of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could have an adverse effect on the security of the country.

Only those individuals and organizations were characterized herein where sufficient identifying data was contained in the files of the Chicago Office to subversively characterize those individuals and/or organizations.

Information copies of this communication are being furnished to New York in view of their interest in [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] and San Francisco in view of their interest in [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Copies of the enclosed LHM are also being furnished to USA, Chicago; Secret Service, Chicago; and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Ill., in view of their continuing interest in matters of this nature.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

JAN 15 1969

Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-46973

SYMPOSIUM ENTITLED, "CONFRONTING CHANGE,"
SPONSORED BY NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, JANUARY 3-9, 1969

[REDACTED]

b1

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Participants</u>
January 3, 1969	Films	7:30 p.m.	
January 4, 1969	Films	7:30 p.m.	
January 5, 1969	Play "Futz"	7:00 and 9:30 p.m.	
January 6, 1969	Keynote Address	8:00 p.m.	Richard Claxton Gregory
January 7, 1969	Seminar	3:00 p.m.	Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.
	Panel Presentation	8:00 p.m.	Carl Preston Oglesby, Jr.; Michael Harrington; Anthony Downs

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SYMPOSIUM ENTITLED, "CONFRONTING CHANGE,"
SPONSORED BY NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, JANUARY 3-9, 1969

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Participants</u>
January 8, 1969	Seminar	10:00 a.m.	Michael Harrington
	Panel Presentation	8:00 p.m.	Reverend Jesse Jackson; Thomas Ayers; James Herndon; Richard Goodwin
January 9, 1969	Panel Presentation	8:00 p.m.	Raymond Mack; Lawrence Lavengood; Seymour M. Miller; Thomas Hayden; Mike James

RICHARD CLAXTON GREGORY

Gregory is a Negro entertainer and civil rights activist.

CARL PRESTON OGLESBY, JR.

[REDACTED] b1

The December 4, 1968, edition of the "Daily Northwestern," the student newspaper of NU, Evanston, Illinois, in an article entitled, "Hayden Panel to Wind Up Symposium," stated that Carl Oglesby is the consulting editor of "Ramparts" magazine.

Characterizations of "Ramparts" magazine and SDS are attached hereto.

SYMPOSIUM ENTITLED, "CONFRONTING CHANGE,"
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Reverend JESSE JACKSON

Jesse Jackson is the National Director of Operation: Breadbasket which is the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

THOMAS HAYDEN

The "New York Daily News," in its issue of January 10, 1968, carried an article entitled, "Word From The Left," in which it identified Hayden as one of a party of three who had traveled to North Vietnam in defiance of the United States Department of State ban on such travel. This article also identified Hayden as a founder of SDS.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

JERRY RUBIN

In a biographical note on Jerry Rubin, the printed program of NU's "Symposium, 1969" notes that Rubin is currently a leader of the Youth International Party which was a prime mover in the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam in New York City two years ago and the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August, 1968.

SYMPOSIUM ENTITLED, "CONFRONTING CHANGE,"
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EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, JANUARY 3-9, 1969

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Source further advised that the films to be shown on January 3-4, 1969, were "The Magnificent Ambersons," "The Married Woman," "The Rules of the Game," "The Roaring Twenties," and "L'Avventura." All are "feature" films which supposedly have to do with some social attitude or condition.

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

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SYMPOSIUM ENTITLED, "CONFRONTING CHANGE,"
SPONSORED BY NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, JANUARY 3-9, 1969

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Source advised that Mike James, although he took only a small part in the program, was the "most dynamic" speaker of the evening. He stated that "we" must fight but the choice of where to fight was all-important. He suggested efforts to recruit the "motorcycle greasers" who, he stated, would respond to a radicalism if it was taken to them. James ended with the comment, "America--Change or Die."

Source further advised that at about 9:50 p.m., an unidentified white male, approximately 50 years old, stood at his seat in the audience and called Hayden and James "Red." He then stated that in spite of a few faults, America was the freest, most just country in the world.

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APPENDIX

"RAMPARTS"

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine with editorial offices in San Francisco, California. The January, 1968, issue listed WARREN HINCKLE, III, as Editor, and ROBERT SCHEER as Managing Editor. It stated that the press run for that issue was 279,000.

The September 10, 1967, issue of the "Denver Post" contained an article on "Ramparts," based upon an interview of its staff by EARL SHORIS, author of the article. This article captioned, "Ramparts: An expression of the 'New Left,'" read in part as follows:

"HINCKLE calls Ramparts 'radical in style and politics.' It belongs to the left, if not the new left....

"The editors of Ramparts are confident of their own virtue, so confident they are able to dispense with objectivity.... Editor HINCKLE said, 'I don't believe in this "on the other hand" stuff. People write in and ask us to print the other side. We tell them no we are not a debating society....'

"Ramparts has been crass and commercial. It has often been more exhortative than informative, but it has also produced some exciting reporting on Vietnam, the city of Oakland, and conservation or the lack of it in America. The magazine joined every other publication in America in belaboring the Warren Report, but SOL STERN's uncloaking of the CIA was brilliant, effective reporting. If Ramparts may have overstated the number of children who have been casualties in Vietnam, it is small criticism; children have been burned and killed.

"The financial problems that have plagued Ramparts for most of its five years may be coming to an end. With 120,000 subscribers and as many newsstand sales, the cost of printing has dropped...."

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-46973

JAN 15 1969

Title SYMPOSIUM ENTITLED, "CONFRONTING CHANGE,"
SPONSORED BY NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, JANUARY 3-9, 1969

Character

Reference is made to memorandum dated and
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"CONFRONTING CHANGE"

January 3-9

I speak again on behalf of the University Administration I wish to thank you and congratulate the students directly in charge of the symposium and also the large number of students supporting the symposium for making this venture possible. Like the preceding symposia, this year's program is the direct result of student initiative and student planning. The Symposium now represents one of the highlights of the academic year and is evidence of the maturity and intellectual stature of the Northwestern undergraduate student body. Thanks must go to the distinguished speakers and participants who have come here to lend the students in Evanston which I am confident will make this year's Symposium a successful as its predecessors have been.

PAYSON S. WILD

Vice President and Dean of Faculties

We will be remiss in our responsibility to educate for leadership if the learning experience does not acutely involve the nature and needs of current society, and therefore does not prepare new leaders grapple with our grave and contemporary problems. The Northwestern Symposium, an organization which belongs entirely to the student body, reflects a real concern in their choice of this year's theme — "Confronting Change". The aspects of "change" in today's society are manifold: the material in some quarters, anger in some, and for the most part ambivalence and confusion in others. It is therefore essential that the realization of intellectual growth, the depth of understanding which should be inherent in the professional estate, and the development of an informed public, that the entire spectrum of opinion related to the issues of "confronting change" be aired, debated, assessed and re-assessed. I would like to express my gratitude to the highly competent speakers and students who serve to make this symposium a success.

LUCIUS P. GREGG

Faculty Advisor

The Northwestern University Symposium is dedicated to the concept that students are actively concerned with intellectually significant issues which cannot be confined to the boundaries of the classroom. The presence of an organization such as Symposium indicates that the students, faculty, and administration have created an atmosphere in which sincere intellectual exploration can occur. It is not the purpose of this program to answer a particular set of questions, but to provide the student with a new viewpoint from which he can examine the relationship of man and his society. The basic questions facing man today concern what kind of society he is going to build, and what he will do with himself as more than a mere physical organism. The answers which man develops to these questions will determine the future of what we call civilization. For these answers, we are ourselves responsible.

The Northwestern Symposium each year is a new and spontaneous event. Except for the panel discussions, which have been the nucleus of every Symposium, there is no fixed format. It is hoped that succeeding generations of undergraduates will plan Symposium uninfluenced by what has gone before; that each will design a Symposium format allowing the most effective exploration and communication of ideas.

MITCHELL L. MOSS

WILLIAM K. EIS

General Chairman
Symposium 1969

To the student:

As we faced the prospect of constructing Symposium '69, we felt both an emotional and physical drain from recent events which seemingly overtook us — an inevitable pessimism drawn from Symposium '68's discussion of "Violence" and the rash of overwhelming social upheavals. Our initial reaction was overreaction; the result was the initiation of a symposium based on happiness. We soon realized, however, that this approach overlooked the seminal issue before us — what can be done to salvage a crumbling society? Thus, "Confronting Change" evolved from an intentional avoidance of issues to a critique of American culture and finally, to research for personal answers. Since we assume that change is inevitable, it becomes our function to understand and direct it. Toward this end, in the spring of 1968, James Turner provided us with a case study of social change at Northwestern. Two weeks later, Professor Christopher Lasch spoke about change in the post-industrial state. This fall, Julian Bond related his experiences in attempting to provoke change within the present political structure. The San Francisco Mime Troupe epitomized an emerging new art form, the guerilla theater, the fusion of art and politics. A panel on the Faculty Planning Committee Report focused on change within the Northwestern undergraduate curriculum. Finally, Symposium presented a panel consisting of Northwestern faculty and former Governor Otto Kerner examining the relevance of the Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

During Symposium Week, we plan to delve deeply into the philosophical underpinnings of change, discovering the eventual goals of the changers, strategies for affecting change, and the role of institutions and the individual in change. Each speaker will be asked to give his personal opinion of what the concerned individual can do to help precipitate change.

Somehow from this fusion of relevant individuals, we hope will emerge, the feeling that the potential for change still exists and that all man's humanity has not been absorbed by a sterile technological society.

MICHAEL BLUM

NEUSCHNEIDER

Co-chairmen,

Speakers Committee

FILMS

JANUARY 3, CANN AUDITORIUM (1942) THE MAGNIFICENT AMBERSONS

ORSON WELLES directed this story of the 19th century Midwestern aristocracy which declined with advanced industrialization and the invention of the automobile. The film is nostalgic in tone, and features the striking angle shots, sweeping camera movement, and imaginative use of lighting and sound that characterize such other WELLES masterpieces as CITIZEN KANE, THE TRIAL, and FALSTAFF. With TIM HOLT, JOSEPH COTTEN, DOLORES COSTELLO, ANNE BAXTER, and AGNES MOOREHEAD.

THE MARRIED WOMAN (1964)

This examination of the contactlessness of modern urban life was directed by JEAN-LUC GODARD (ALPHAVILLE, BREATHLESS, BAND OF OUTSIDERS, LA CHINOISE, MASCULINE FEMININE). The film covers 24 hours in the life of a young Parisienne (MACHA MERIL) who is forced to decide between her husband (PHILIPPE LEROY) and her lover (BERNARD NOEL). THE MARRIED WOMAN is one of the most compelling expressions of GODARD's vision of the fragmentation of human experience.

JANUARY 4 CANN AUDITORIUM - 7:00 P. M.

THE RULES OF THE GAME (1939)

This legendary film was directed by the great JEAN RENOIR (LA GRANDE ILLUSION, THE GOLDEN COACH, THE ELUSIVE CORPORAL), and deals with the impending destruction of society from within. RENOIR's tolerant but revealing examination of a continental aristocracy is considered by many cinema historians to be the greatest of all French films. With MARCEL DALIO, NORA GREGOR, and JEAN RENOIR.

THE ROARING TWENTIES (1939)

THE ROARING TWENTIES is an example of the work of one of the most interesting and perverse talents in American cinema. RAUL WALSH (WHITE HEAT, BLACK BEANS, THE PIRATE, THE NAKED AND THE DEAD). This tale of gangsters in the Prohibition era is a savage indictment of the most lurid of a complacent and acquisitive society. With JAMES CAGNEY, HUMPHREY BOGART, and PRISCILLA LANE.

L'AVVENTURA (1960)

L'AVVENTURA is perhaps the most highly regarded of the films of MICHELANGELO ANTONIONI (LA NOTTE, ECLIPSE, THE RED DESERT, BLOW-UP). MOCICA VITTI, GABRIELLE FERZETTI, and LEA MASSARI are featured in a study of the impermanence inherent in contemporary technological society.

"FUTZ"

By **Rochelle Owens**

Directed by **John Dillon**

Cast

M. Ahmed	Father Futz
Christopher Allport	Oscar Loop
Don Baron	Marjorie Saltz
Curtis Heeter	Sheriff Tom Sluck
William Jackson	Brother (Ned) Futz
James Keach	Cyrus Futz
Peter von Mayhauser	Bill Marjoram
Phil Noble	Buford
Susan Pinker	Ann Fox
Phil Schmidt	Sugford
Emily Westerman	Mother Futz
Anne Whitman	Mrs. Loop

Alimos

Joe Fewsmith
Ri Jo Klienman
Robert Nussbaum
Sam Reeder
Diane Richardson
Dennis Roberts
Mary Kay Roberts
Elizabeth Scott
Gina Sisk
Beverly Swift
Cher Swinford
Karen Wexler

Assisted by: Sandy Landish, John Rose, Trish ~~Porter~~ ^{Porter}, Margie Balter, Porcia Patterson, Mary Ann Eddy, Lois Miller, Megan McTavish

Welcome to the barn of Cyrus Futz!

The production of Futz which you are now seeing involves three confrontations — the confrontation of actor to actor, the confrontation of Rochelle Owens with her society and the confrontation which will occur between you and the cast.

Change occurs when value systems clash. Futz is the story of such a clash. A farmer named Cyrus Futz is deeply in love with Amanda, his pig. This love, in its perverted purity, exposes the shallow values of the community. The near-by farmers must either recognize the poverty of their human love of humans or blot out the presence of Futz. The clash is between the hypocritical standards of a community (which allow it, like our own society, to come on hang together) and the honest yet bizarre lusts of farmer Futz. Owens gives us only those bits and flashes of the plot which allow us to perceive the dimensions of this clash.

The play is strong in action and language. It is obscene. (Owens' artistic response to an indecent society is indecency. Obscenity becomes integrity. All else is bloodless.)

We have tried, in this production, to give more than a lecture or punct discussion clothed in theatrical costumes and greasepaint. We want the audience to physically join this community under stress. We hope to use a vocabulary of sounds and actions, a language which all of your senses can understand. Our tools are as simple as we can possibly make them. We agree with the Polish director Jerzy Grotowski who has said of his Theater of Poverty:

The acceptance of the poverty of theater, stripped of all that is not essential to it, reveals to us not only the backbone of the medium, but also the deep riches which lie in the very nature of the art-form.

Welcome, then, to the barn of Cyrus Futz!

MONDAY

Dick Gregory

8:00 p.m. January 6, 1969



Former comedian, turned militant civil rights worker, lately a presidential candidate, Richard Claxton Gregory initiates the Symposium week discussions.

Gregory began his turn from comedian to political activist in 1962. Since then he has traveled throughout the country leading demonstrations, has marched in Chicago, and in 1966 ran for the Chicago mayoral office. This past November he was a presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party in many states.

Gregory could be called a borderline militant; not exactly advocating violence, but defending it as postulated by Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. He abhors gradualism in any area; in cleaning out the rat population, in bringing the Vietnam war to an end, in ending poverty, or in bringing about racial equality.

Gregory, with barbed witicisms, is a social critic, and one of the few Black leaders who still can communicate with a white audience. Says the Wall Street Journal, "He views himself as a social commentator who uses humor to interpret the needs and wants of Negroes to the white community, rather than as a comedian who happens to deal in topical social material."

Gregory's most recent book, *The Shadow That Scares Me*, came out early last year. He has also written *Nigger*, an autobiography, and *Sermons*. He is currently on a speaking tour of many colleges and universities throughout the country, speaking with an emphasis on youth. His interests are in open housing, voter registration, and the "long haul job" of re-educating people and reshaping their attitudes on race.

In *Shadow That Scares Me*, Gregory states: "When America heard Martin Luther King speaking nonviolence she was temporarily relieved because 'turn the other cheek' sounded better than 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.' But the failure to respond to 'turn the other cheek' has produced the 'eye for an eye' revolution."

To white audiences, he says, "I will not hit you. I will not kill you. But I will bug you to death."

Reception following the presentation: Allison Hall.

TUESDAY PANEL

8:00 P. M., January 7, 1969
 PANELISTS: Michael Harrington, Anthony Davis, Jerry Rubin
 Moderator: Robert Webe.

Where are we right now? Can social change be accomplished without major institutional restructuring? Is an ideological revolution possible within the present intellectual framework of this country? Social change within the system, or without? What present structures can the New Left turn to for support? Is evolutionary change still possible?

Jerry Rubin

Jerry Rubin appeared in December before the Senate subcommittee investigating violence in the cities. He entered the hearing chambers dressed in a Santa Claus costume, as an illustration of the validity and value with which he credits such governmental proceedings.

Rubin, 30, began his "activist" career in 1965 at the University of California at Berkeley, in the Free Speech Movement there, which brought into the public eye such "movement" personalities as Mario Savio. Rubin is currently a leader of the Youth International Party (YIPPIES) which was a prime mover in the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam in New York City two years ago, and the demonstration at the Democratic Convention in Chicago last August.

Rubin represents the disestablishment on tonight's panel. The Yippie "organization" is an unstructured one, full of students, hippies, former and/or current SDS members, and seems to be a genuine international movement. Rubin comes from Northwestern from New York City.

Michael Harrington

"This country is not so fated as so many academics claim, to a mindless politics which never poses basic issues. The majority is not so corrupt, as some black militants and young radicals argue, that nothing can be done save to shake the pillars and bring the roof down on the whole decadent scene. For there is even a possibility within America of actually building a political movement equal to the monumental tasks we have so casually defined for ourselves."



Michael Harrington is a prominent author and spokesman for the political Left. He is a member of the National Executive Committee for the Socialist Party, and co-editor of Labor in a Free Society. He has served as organizational secretary for the Workers Defense League.

His book, *The Other America*, published in 1962 is his most widely known work. It drew national attention and had a profound influence on President Kennedy and his efforts to launch the War on Poverty.

In a society characterized by disparate poverty amidst affluence, Harrington contends that it is the government's responsibility to make a massive investment in the poor. He supports a guaranteed annual income instead of a "shoddy" welfare plan which perpetuates poverty. He questions the traditional capitalist economic system and its ability to provide equal opportunity and a decent living for everyone. In his book, *The Accidental Century*, Harrington examines the revolutionary impact of technology and attacks capitalism as incapable of dealing with the pressing social and economic problems of this age.

Harrington believes that a new American Left is a prerequisite for needed social change. In his book, *Toward a Democratic Left*, he advocates an organized activist party of the left working within the American political system. He calls for a radical reorganization of local and regional government in which the American people, not big business and bureaucratic interests, direct social planning.

Harrington, 40, was graduate from Holy Cross, Yale Law School, and received an M. A. from the University of Chicago.

Anthony Downs

"There is a widespread belief that U. S. society is becoming more and more 'bureaucratized' because of the rising prominence of large organizations in American life. This trend is universally regarded as undesirable. Its stronger critics think that the average individual will become immersed in a tightening set of rules and regulations formulated by hung, faceless organizations. They also fear that society will become dominated by empire building, wasteful spending, egregious blunders, miles of red tape, frustrating delays, 'buck-passing,' and other horrors they attribute to bureaucracy. . . . First, the average individual's freedom is actually expanding rapidly. Even though the regulations imposed on him by bureaus continue to multiply, his action alternatives multiply even faster. Second, increased bureaucratic regulations are actually one of the causes of his greater freedom. . . . Without increased bureaucratic regulation such forces as technological change, urbanization, and more intensive division of labor would either be impossible, or would lead to greater social disorganization and a narrower range of choice for the individual."



Anthony Downs, senior vice-president of the Real Estate Research Corporation of Chicago, is also a consultant to the RAND Corporation on Urban Affairs and Government Organization, and served as a consultant to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

In addition, he is a member of the President's National Commission on Urban Problems, and a consultant to the Economic Development Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Chicago Board of Education.

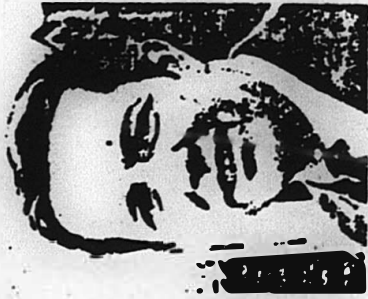
Downs' orientation toward change is to work within the structure of American economic and political structures, without necessarily being tied to them. He calls for increasing government action in remedying the problems of the cities, poverty, and education in what has been termed as "modified New Deal pattern," but doesn't discount the role of private enterprise. He calls for decentralization in education by merging suburban and inner-city school districts. He explored the economics of integrated housing and concluded that Negroes (having a wider range of choice in income than in housing) could actually raise the real estate values in the suburbs where there has been a housing surplus, if only whites didn't panic, thus bringing about a devaluation instead.

Downs has written two books, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, and *Inside Bureaucracy*. He received a M. A. and Ph. D. in Economics from Stanford University.

Receptions following the presentation: Michael Harrington, Kappa Kappa Gamma; Anthony Downs, Kappa Alpha Theta; Jerry Rubin, Alpha Omicron Pi.

Michael Harrington

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WEDNESDAY PANEL

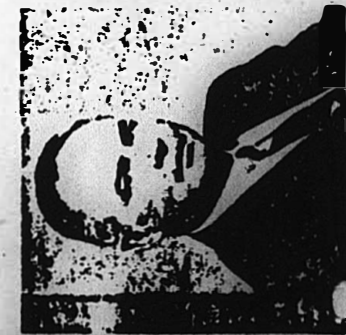
8:00 P.M. ~~January~~ 7 8, 1969

PANELISTS: Rev. Jesse Jackson, Thomas Ayers, James Herndon, and panelist-moderator, Richard Goodwin.

"The role of institutions in socialization and methods of social change."

Can institutions adequately respond to community needs without significant community involvement? What is the role of black capitalism in the inner city? With a growing emphasis on separatism, what role, if any, does the white man have in the black community? What about the issue of decentralization? What about the university as an agent for social change? Aren't children in America being indoctrinated with such values as competition, and are such values socially constructive?

Thomas Ayers



Thomas G. Ayers is President of Commonwealth Edison Company, the fifth largest utilities company in the United States, with assets totaling upwards of 2 1/2 billion dollars.

At the same time, Mr. Ayers is actively concerned with the social and political environment of Chicago. He feels that business has a major role to play in change.

As former president of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, he spent two years (1966-68) running an extensive program to encourage the hiring of members of minority groups by the 14,000 member businesses of the association. His activities have been described by one as "high level arm-twisting."

As current president of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, Mr. Ayers represents many political, business and religious leaders of Chicago who are actively seeking complete open housing in the Chicago area. In this capacity he has worked with Rev. Jesse Jackson, and other leaders of the black community. Mr. Ayers serves on the Northwestern University Board of Trustees and is considered one of its most enlightened and active members. According to those who know him in this capacity, he has shown a competence and understanding which goes far beyond a devotion to the business community.

Mr. Ayers, 54, holds a BA from the University of Michigan and an honorary Doctor of Laws from Elmhurst College.

Jesse Jackson



The Rev. Jesse Jackson is currently serving as National Director of the Southern Christian Leadership (SCLC) (Operation Breadbasket, with central offices in Chicago. He has for the past several years been active in civil rights work in this area, and was honored a year ago by the Chicago Club of Frontiers International as "Man of the Year."

Rev. Jackson is an associate minister of the Fellowship Baptist Church of Chicago. He has served as Director of Field Activities for the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, and Director of Special Projects and Economic Development of the SCLC. He also is a former field representative of the Southeastern Region for the Congress of Racial Equality.

After a year at the University of Illinois, 27-year old Rev. Jackson left because of "social immobility." From there he completed requirements for a BS degree in sociology from A&T College in North Carolina. He then attended the Chicago Theological Seminary in the Bachelor of Divinity program.

James Herndon

James Herndon, a junior high school teacher in the public school system of Northern California, is highly critical of American public school education. In his book, *The Way It's Supposed To Be*, a sociological diary of the educational experience, he focuses on one particular year which he spent at a metropolitan junior high school in a California ghetto. Herndon gives a warm and perceptive account of the conflicts and troubles he found there.

Herndon is a critic of the educational system because he has witnessed its failures within the section where these failures are now acutely apparent — the black community. His greatest criticism, however, is one which applies to an even broader segment of public schools. He maintains that schools are not teaching black children, but are stifling their creativity, individual initiative and desire to learn.

Edgar Z. Friedenberg, author of *The Vanishing Adolescents* and *Coming of Age in America*, and a longtime critic of American education, has ranked Herndon's work as best among recent works by such men as John Holt, Herbert Kohl and Jonathan Kozol, on the basis of Herndon's keen perception of the attitude and needs of children, black and white.

Receptions following the presentation: Rev. Jesse Jackson, Alpha Epsilon Phi; Thomas Ayers, Delta Delta Delta; James Herndon, Alpha Phi.

THURSDAY PANEL

8:00 P.M. January 9, 1969

PANELISTS: Thomas Hayden, Richard Goodwin, S. M. Miller, Mike James.
Moderator: Lawrence Lavengood.

Without freedom to practice individually wrought values, the individual must make a moral commitment to seek social change. There exists a wide variety of opinions as to how social and political change can be brought about: What are the possibilities of becoming a revolutionary force of groups such as students, workers? Can private enterprise bring about a fairer distribution of wealth? Is a multi-party-political system viable? What about the New Left, anarchy, and the possibility of a technological society without a political organization?

Mike James

"You can't begin to understand the contradictions of industrial America sitting in Haight-Asbury. You have to get out into the guts of the system where blood flows."

Mike James, raised in Westport, Connecticut and educated at Berkeley, is an active member of S.D.S. and the National Organizing Committee. The N.O.C. is attempting to organize lower-class white communities and thus develop a radical consciousness within these communities.

Describing his work, James feels that "the main thing is to try and bring a sense of the Movement to working class kids based on their own experience and history. They still want that big Cadillac, but they are more aware of what things are about and what they can do. That is what being radical means. . . Liberals want to help people but they don't usually understand the people they want to help. The radical understands."

Tom Hayden



"All of these young intellectuals are breaking out of the old, stultifying order. Before you call them 'Communist' or 'extremist' or 'lunatic,' stop a moment, let yourselves be a little more insecure, so that you can listen to what they say and perhaps feel the pulse of their challenge. Their challenge politically takes many forms, with which we may agree or disagree; but the essential is much deeper. It is to quit the acquiescence to political 'fate', cut the business-as-usual futures, and realize that in a time of mass organization, government by expertise, success through technical specialization . . . incomprehensible destructiveness of the two wars and the third which is imminent, and the Cold War which has chilled man's relation to man, the time has come for a reassertion of the personal."

Throughout the 60's Tom Hayden, author of the above, has been an active member of the New Left. Last summer he acted as Mobilization coordinator of the anti-war movement at the Democratic Convention. He and several of his co-workers were arrested in Chicago following the demonstrations and rioting.

Hayden has served as national president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In the early 60's he worked on the staff of the Newark Community Union (ERAP, Economic Research and Action Project).

In "A Letter to the new (Young) Left," in *The Activist*, in 1961, Hayden outlined what he saw as the major challenges confronting the world today. His major concerns were the Cold War, the spread of nuclear weapons, and population control combined with the tensions in underdeveloped countries caused by rising technological aspirations.

In this country, Hayden points to the ~~failure of the~~ paternalistic welfare state to deal with poverty. ~~Dismissing~~ ~~the~~ power, he claims, has drifted away from the legislative and executive institutions of government into the hands of corporate and military interests. In education Hayden finds stifling paternalism which distorts the student's perception of the world. He contends that the student must disassociate himself from the system and form a different society.

Hayden attacks these problems with radical methods, maintaining that people ~~are~~ as free as they suppose themselves to be. Each individual, he believes, must evaluate how society is structured and make a moral commitment to act on his values.

Hayden was graduated from the University of Michigan.

Seymour Miller



Seymour M. Miller is a professor of Sociology at New York University, and a consultant to the Social Development Program of the Ford Foundation.

Dr. Miller is particularly concerned with the problem of poverty in this country and re-evaluating the programs and approaches used to combat poverty. He believes that the poverty-stricken must be considered in the context of a social system which generates poverty.

Poverty programs must not simply increase the income of the poor, he says, but must create job opportunities and provide means for the poor to acquire long-range command over resources. Programs must involve maximum participation of community members at the local level.

Dr. Miller worked closely with CORE programs in Cleveland. He is also responsible for many of the Ford Foundation's direct grants to black community organizations.

His recent books include: *Social Class and Social Policy* (with Frank Riessman), *Poverty and the Great Society* (with Martin Rein), *Readings on the Welfare State* (co-edited with Martin Rein) and *Workers and Society* (with Frank Riessman). He has also published numerous articles in publications such as *Annals*, *Trans-action*, *Dissent*, *Blue Collar World*, *American Child*, and the *American Sociological Review*.

Receptions following the presentation: Richard Goodwin, Delta Gamma; Thomas Hayden, Northwestern Apartments; S. M. Miller, Pi Beta Phi.

Richard Goodwin

"If large scale war ever comes, it will not be the result of a long series of acts and decisions, each seemingly reasonable, that will slowly place the great powers in a situation in which they will find it impossible to back down. It will be no one's fault... but it will be the fault of many leaders, politicians, journalists, men and women in a hundred different occupations in many lands who failed to see clearly, act wisely, or speak articulately. There will be no act of madness, no single villain on whom to discharge guilt; just the flow of history."

Richard Goodwin is a lawyer and speechwriter with a considerable range of political experience. He served President Kennedy as chief of special counsel and subsequently assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs. Under President Johnson he served as a special assistant, helping to articulate policies.

Goodwin, an early critic of the Viet Nam War and the foreign policy that underscored American involvement, joined the McCarthy forces as a speechwriter when the Senator declared his intention to campaign in the primaries against the American war effort. Goodwin's ties with the Kennedy family caused him to support Robert Kennedy when he entered the primary race. After Kennedy's assassination, he returned to the McCarthy camp, and ultimately supported Hubert Humphrey as the Democratic nominee.

Goodwin's experience with Latin America has given him an insight into revolution and revolutionary tactics, but he remains actively committed to change within the structure of the American political system. He is currently involved in a move to reorganize the Democratic Party more in line with the values and goals of the liberal wing.

Goodwin was graduated from Tufts University and Harvard Law School.

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Symposium thanks the following organizations for their generosity which made this year's program possible. Special recognition goes to the Student Senate for being the primary sponsoring organization for the second consecutive year.

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Alpha Xi Delta
Chi Omega
Chi Phi
Evans Scholars
Gamma Phi Beta
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American Hospital Supply Corporation

Acknowledgements

Symposium gratefully acknowledges the thoughtful advice and kind assistance of: Dr. og Bebr. ay Danche. John Dillon/Arnold Feldman. H. Paul Friesema. Lachus P. Griggs, Jr., Jean Hugstrum, Franklin Haiman, Richard J. Hinz, Richard Kilmer, Lawrence G. Lavengood, Christopher Larch, Joe Miller, Frank Morris, Mrs. Maiba Petersen, Prince, Judson Reunty, Scott Hall Activities Office, Fran Gordon Thompson, John Walker and the Daily Northwestern Staff, Seward Weber, Robert Wiebe, Payson Wild, Jeremy Wilson, Radio Station WNTN, the Cast and Production Crew of "Futz."

Friday, January 3

7:00 p.m. AN EVENING OF FILMS — I

Cahn Auditorium

Saturday, January 4

7:00 p.m. AN EVENING OF FILMS — II

Cahn Auditorium

Sunday, January 5

7:00 and 9:30 p.m. "FUTZ", directed by John Dillon

Cahn Auditorium

Monday, January 6

8:00 p.m. DICK GREGORY

Cahn Auditorium

Tuesday, January 7

3:00 p.m. Seminar with Anthony Downs

Scott Hall 217

Seminar with Jerry Rubin

Scott Hall 215

8:00 p.m. PANEL DISCUSSION: Michael Harrington,
Anthony Downs, Jerry Rubin

Cahn Auditorium

Wednesday, January 8

10:00 a.m. Seminar with MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Scott Hall 217

1:00 p.m. Seminar with JAMES HERNDON

Scott Hall 217

3:00 p.m. Seminar with REV. JESSE JACKSON

Scott Hall 215

Seminar with THOMAS AYERS

Scott Hall 217

8:00 p.m. PANEL DISCUSSION: Thomas Ayers,
Rev. Jesse Jackson, and James Herndon.
Richard Goodwin, moderator

Cahn Auditorium

Thursday, January 9

10:00 a.m. Seminar with RICHARD GOODWIN

Scott Hall 217

3:00 p.m. Seminar with THOMAS HAYDEN

Scott Hall 217

Seminar with S. M. MILLER

Scott Hall 215

1:00 p.m. Seminar with MIKE JAMES

Scott Hall 217

8:00 p.m. PANEL DISCUSSION: Richard Goodwin,
S. M. Miller, Mike James, Tom Hayden

Cahn Auditorium

Receptions for each speaker will be held in women's living units following their presentations. See the individual panels for specific locations.

Date of Mail 1-17-69

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL *Students for a Democratic Society*
(Per.)

9 8 FEB 7 1969

Removed By

File Number

100-432015- ✓

Permanent Serial Charge Out

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

b7C

b7C

January 14, 1969

J. Edgar Hoover Director
 Federal Bureau of Investigation
 United States Department of Justice
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We would like to commend you on exposing the NEW LEFT and STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. It is about time the American people knew the true story behind student unrest.

We would like a copy of your full statement on the SDS. Also if possible, we would like to receive the monthly FBI LAW ENFORCEMENT BULLETIN.

RFW/NBH

Sincerely,



100-437048-
 NOT RECORDED
 167 JAN 28 1969

JAN 28 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94

"Let None But AMERICANS Stand Guard Tonite!" George Washington



January 23, 1969

(U)

[REDACTED]

b7C

C. H. [unclear]
[unclear]

Dear [REDACTED]

b7C

I have received your letter of January 14th.

In response to your request, I am enclosing some material which contains some of my remarks with regard to the Students for a Democratic Society. In addition, I am sending you a copy of the January issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin and arrangements have been made for you to receive it in the future.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1-1-1111-1-1-69
1-1-1111-1-1-69

94-3-1-24111

Enclosures (3)

LES Introduction, 9-68

Law Enforcement Bulletin, 1-69

Director's Statement before National Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence

1 - St. Louis - Enclosure

ReBucal 1-17-69 and urcal 1-21-69.

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent.

b7C

AL:Kce (4)

Note Continued on Next Page

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 1/24/68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages E480-E483. Congressman Rarick, (D) Louisiana, extended his remarks concerning the organization Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). He stated many awakened Americans are concerned over the undisciplined little army of professional students known as SDS. . . . The Alabama Legislative Commission To Preserve the Peace—in the absence of other State or Federal reports—has rendered a comprehensive report to inform the American people. He inserted the report in the Record. This report makes reference to the SDS participation in the march on the Pentagon in October, 1967, and states Hoover, said some 125 known communist party members, some of them of high rank, participated in the action. Reference is also made to a Report to Appropriations Sub-Committee, U. S. House of Representatives, May, 1968, by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, FBI. It is further stated in his report above referred to, Mr. Hoover said SDS was infiltrated by communists. In a separate report he said it was financially supported in part by the communist party. . . . We agree with J. Edgar Hoover when he warns that it would be an error to simply label SDS and the rest of the new left as communists. It goes beyond political structure. Mr. Hoover said: 'The mood of this movement, which is best typified by its primary spokesman, the Students for a Democratic Society is a mood of disillusionment, pessimism and alienation. At the center of the movement is an almost passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down. If anything definite can be said about the Students for a Democratic Society, it is that it can be called anarchistic. . . .

100-111101-5411
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NOT RECORDED

141 JAN 31 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1/24/68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

STED

FBI

Date: 1/27/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

la

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Shackelford

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Houston and San Antonio are requested to canvass appropriate sources in an effort to determine if actual conference space has been obtained in connection with the aforementioned SDS NC meeting and advise the Bureau and Chicago regarding the results of this informant canvas.

C. C. Bishop

- 1 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Houston (RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (RM)
- 3 - Chicago
- (1 - [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-39748) (PLP)

REC-113

EX-113

100-439048-2534

12 JAN 29 1969

ELS:pah
(10)

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[Handwritten initials]

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

M

Per _____

57 FEB 1969 in Charge

CLASSIFIED BY 1462 JRM/SCS 01/14/94
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

CG 100-40903

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Chicago following this matter closely and will keep the Bureau and interested offices advised of any additional pertinent information developed regarding this matter.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA TELETYPE

JAN 28 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

VA 85 416PM EOM

URGENT 1-28-69 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) AND BALTIMORE AND NEWARK
BALTIMORE AND NEWARK VIA WASHINGTON
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IS-SDS.

RE WFO TEL, JANUARY TWENTY-SEVEN LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY MIKE KLONSKY, SDS
NATIONAL SECRETARY, IS SCHEDULED TO BE ON "EAST COAST" FOR
NEXT SEVERAL DAYS. CHICAGO BELIEVES THIS VISIT IS COINCIDENTAL
WITH KLONSKY'S SCHEDULED ATTENDANCE AT FORTHCOMING SDS REGIONAL
MEETING IN MARYLAND AND NEW JERSEY.

END

WLM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE TO:

BA, UKI

REC-47/10-489018-2535

EX-113

10 JAN 30 1969

58 FEB 7 - 1969

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-46979) (C)

SUBJECT: MOVEMENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (MDS)
IS-SDS - *Re: 100-112109*

DATE: 1/30/69

ReBulet to New York 12/13/68 captioned as above enclosing an article from the 11/30/68 issue of the "Guardian".

A search of Chicago indices fails to reveal any information which would indicate the presence in the Chicago Division of the MDS.

During January, 1969, the following confidential sources, all of whom have furnished reliable information in the past and who are generally familiar with the SDS and New Left Movement in the Chicago area, were contacted regarding the "Movement for a Democratic Society" (MDS) in the Chicago area. These sources all advised to their knowledge there is no MDS in the Chicago area.

Source	Contacting Agent
<i>b7d</i> [REDACTED]	SA [REDACTED] <i>b7c</i>
[REDACTED]	"
[REDACTED]	"
[REDACTED]	SA [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	S [REDACTED]

Shank

Reference "Guardian" article by CARL DAVIDSON mentions the MDS groups are organized in several different ways. This article mentioned the "New University Conference" as an example.

As the Bureau is aware, Chicago writes periodic reports on the NUC, BUfile 62-112109 and CGfile 100-45069.

In view of the above, no report is being submitted under the MDS caption and this case is being closed. Chicago will remain alert for any information regarding the MDS and immediately advise the Bureau.

2-Bureau
1-Chicago
JAM:neb
(3)

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